WILLIAM A. TOOMAN

Gog of Magog

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Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book began life long ago in a year-long graduate class on the Book of Ezekiel taught by Professor Michael V. Fox at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. It originated as a seminar paper in 2002 and culminated (or so I thought) in my dissertation in 2006. After wandering other academic byways for a time, I returned to the subject in 2009 with fresh eyes and with better empirical models for comparison. With the help of a reduced teaching load in the last Candlemas term, I was finally able to bring the project to completion in the Winter of 2010.

I have had the privilege to study with two extraordinary scholars, without whom this project would never have been conceived. Professor John Sailhamer first introduced me to inner-biblical interpretation. He drew lines of connection between inner-biblical exegesis, textual criticism, historical criticism, and history of interpretation, apparently without effort, modeling a breadth and depth of learning that I have rarely seen matched. Professor Michael V. Fox first introduced me to the book of Ezekiel. His seminars were a joy and a terror. It was a joy to watch his technical acumen and inspired intuition at work. It was a terror to be expected to emulate him. He taught me that I could never know my limits until I was willing to exceed them. Both of these scholars took the time to teach me hard lessons, gifts that a wise son does not scorn.

Thanks are due to Edgewood College, my former institution, for several travel grants, which allowed me to work out a number of the ideas in this book, and to the University of St Andrews, which granted me the time to write it up. Wendy Widder wrestled valiantly with the manuscript, getting it ready for publication. K. C. Hanson graciously granted permission to reuse material from my chapter in *Transforming Visions: Tranformations of Text, Tradition, and Theology in Ezekiel* (PTMS 124) for which I owe him thanks. Gratitude is also due to Koninklijke Brill NV for granting permission to reuse material from: "Between Imitation and Interpretation: Scriptural Reuse and Compositional Technique in 1QHodayot[a] 11.6–19," *DSD*18/1 (2011): 54–73. I am grateful, finally, to the National Association of Professors of Hebrew, the Oxford Old Testament Seminar, the Edinburgh Biblical Studies Seminar, and the Durham Old Testament Research

Seminar for inviting me to test a few of my ideas on them and for the wise and perceptive feedback I received from them all.

This book is dedicated to friends from my student days, not so very long ago: Michael Lyons (Simpson University), Kent Reynolds (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Andy Teeter (Harvard University), and Jake Stromberg (Oxford University). We have spent thousands of hours to-gether as colleagues and friends. A faithful companion on a long road is only to be hoped for. I have had the blessing of four. Their friendship is without price. I can only hope that it continues until we all reach the end of the journey, and we can walk a new and brighter way together.

Fat Tuesday, 2011 William A. Tooman
University of St. Andrews

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Chapter 1

Method and Approach

A. The Need for This Study

In Ezek 38–39, Gog, chief prince of the land of Magog, leads a confederation of nations to attack peaceful, defenseless Israel. Unprovoked, the attackers' invasion is, seemingly, inspired by a lust for plunder. In fact, Gog is impelled to act. Led there by Yhwh, Gog and his allies are destroyed upon the mountains of Israel in a series of disasters and cosmic actions. Their corpses serve as a sacrificial meal for the carrion birds and wild animals. For seven months the Israelites labor to cleanse the land of Gog's remains. For seven years their collected weapons provide the Israelites with firewood. All this is accomplished in order that Yhwh may magnify himself and be hallowed. In response to this great act of salvation, Israel is ashamed of her sins, and the nations acknowledge the hand of God in the exile and the restoration of Israel. Only then does Yhwh complete the restoration of his people. He regathers all Israelites to their land where they live securely in possession of his spirit.

These Gog Oracles (GO) borrow extensively from antecedent Scripture. This has been commonly acknowledged in modern scholarship. Scholars have not always agreed, however, upon *who* was responsible for this borrowing. Until the twentieth century the majority of biblical scholars assumed that GO was an original composition by the prophet Ezekiel.[1] In the first half of the twentieth century, however, a new generation of scholars

[1] E.g., Heinrich von Ewald ("Hézeqiél," in *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, vol. 4 [London: Williams and Norgate, 1880; German original 1841], 10–20), Ferdinand Hitzig (*Der Prophet Ezechiel erklärt* [KHAT 8; Leipzig: Weidmanns, 1847], 288), Ernst W. Hengstenberg (*The Prophecies of Ezekiel Elucidated* [trans. A. C. Murphy and J. G. Murphy; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1869; German original 1867/68], 329–30), Rudolf Smend (*Der Prophet Ezechiel* [2d ed.; KHAT; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1880], 293–94), Alfred Bertholet (*Das Buch Hesekiel* [KHC 12; Leipzig & Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897], xx–xxii, 187) Crawford H. Toy (*The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text with Notes* [SBOT 12; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899], 173–77), Volkmar Herntrich (*Ezechielprobleme* [BZAW 61; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1932], 119), and Carl G. Howie (*The Date and Composition of Ezekiel* [SBLMS 4; Philadelphia: Scholars, 1950], 100–2).

began to argue that GO was an addition to the book.[2] As the twentieth century progressed these opposed positions grew increasingly nuanced. One group argued that GO, though expanded by later redactors, was substantially a product of Ezekiel and his disciples.[3] Another group argued that GO was largely composed by a later person or persons with their own unique concerns, and that it was added to the book at a relatively late date.[4]

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[2] E.g., George R. Berry ("The Date of Ezekiel 38:1–39:20," *JBL* 41 [1922]: 224–32), Gustav Hölscher (*Hesekiel, Der Dichter und das Buch: Eine literarkritische Untersuchung* [BZAW 39; Giessen: Verlag Alfred Töpelman, 1924], 26–34, 177–89), Hugo Gressmann (*Der Messias* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929], 123–34), George A. Cooke (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* [ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936], 406–8), and T. H. C. Vriezen ("Prophecy and Eschatology," in *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953* [ed. G. W. Anderson; VTSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1953], 199–229).

[3] E.g., Johannes Herrmann (*Ezechielstudien* [BWANT 2; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908], 4–6), Lorenz Dürr (*Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalyptik, Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Buches Ezechiel und zur Israelitischen Religionsgeschichte* [Münster: Aschendorff, 1923], 65), Alfred Bertholet and Kurt Galling (*Hesekiel* [HAT 13; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1936], 129–31), Georg Fohrer (*Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel* [BZAW 72; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1952], 193–96), Walther Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel Chapters 25–48* [Hermeneia; trans. Ronald E. Clements; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983], 296–98, 304, 310), Michael C. Astour ("Ezekiel's Prophecy of Gog and the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin," *JBL* 95 [1976]: 567–79), Bernard Lang (*Ezechiel: Der Prophet and das Buch* [EdF 153; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buch-gesellschaft, 1981], 106–12, 126–27), and Stephen L. Cook (*Prophecy and Apocalypti-cism: The Postexilic Social Setting* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995], 97–105), and Paul Fitzpatrick (*The Disarmament of God: Ezekiel 38–39 in its Mythic Context* [CBQMS 37; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2004], 74–81).

[4] E.g., William A. Irwin (*Problem of Ezekiel: An Inductive Study* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943], 172–76), Konrad von Rabenau ("Die Entstehung des Buches Ezechiel in formgeschichtlicher Sicht," *WZ* 5 [1955–56]: 676–77, 682), Walter Eichrodt (*Ezekiel: A Commentary* [OTL; trans. Cosslett Quinn; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970], 519–21), Jorg Garscha (*Studien zum Ezechielbuch: Eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung von 1–39* [Bern: Herbert Lang, 1974], 237–39; Ruben Ahroni ("The Gog Prophecy and the Book of Ezekiel," *HAR* 1 [1977]: 1–27), Frank Lothar Hossfeld (*Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches* [FB 20; Würzburg: Echter, 1977], 494–501), and Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann (*Ezechielstudien: Zur Re-daktionsgeschichte des Buches und zur Frage nach den ältesten Texten* [BZAW 202; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992], 86–88, 107, 112, 122, 134). Many of the scholars holding this position do identify an original Ezekielian core in Ezek 38–39. One notable minority view posits that the whole book is a pseudepigraphon from the Persian or Hel-lenistic periods (e.g., Leopold Zunz, "Bibelkritische," *ZDMG* 27 [1873]: 676–81, 688; C. C. Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930], 108–12).

Two principal lines of evidence have been at the center of this debate. For some, features of the genre and worldview of GO, like its proto-apocalyptic conventions, mythopoeic elements, dualism, and determinism, point to a unique composer, who should be distinguished from the prophet. Others find parallels to these same features in other parts of the book, which are then taken as evidence that GO was produced by Ezekiel or his immediate circle of priests or disciples.[5] Another line of argument is focused on the vocabulary and style of GO. Linguistic influences from the other biblical authors, later dialects of Hebrew, or other Semitic languages (notably Aramaic) have been used to argue that GO, or a significant portion thereof, is an addition to Ezekiel. Other critics argue that the language of GO bears the stamp of Ezekiel and his time and need not be disassociated from either.[6] In other words, no consensus regarding the authorship of GO has yet to emerge. The same stock of data has been used to argue opposite conclusions.

Consensus has emerged on only two issues. First, it is widely acknowledged that the language and style of GO is similar to the rest of Ezekiel, though what is made of this observation depends entirely on the individual critic. Second, it is transparent that GO borrows extensively from antecedent biblical texts like Genesis, the Holiness Code, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Beyond these two points, scholars agree upon very little. What is needed at this juncture in the debate is a thorough reassessment of GO, in particular its form and its reuse of antecedent Scripture.

This study represents an effort to begin again. A close examination of previously unexamined features of GO's reuse of antecedent Scripture, I will argue, can open up and resolve debated issues as diverse as GO's form, composition, ideological, and argumentative contribution to the book, its relationship to antecedent texts, its place in the emergence of a scriptural collection, and its social-historical context.[7]

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[5] E.g., Richard Kraetzschmar and Hugo Gressmann argued that GO was compiled from two parallel recensions, which could be distinguished by the presence or absence of certain mythological traits (*Das Buch Ezechiel, übersetzt und erklärt* [HKAT 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900]; *Der Messias*, esp. 123–24). Herrmann countered that a single composer, in all probability Ezekiel himself, was responsible for the whole. The same event was described from different perspectives by this composer, which accounts for the false appearance of two recensions (*Ezechielstudien*, 37–48).

[6] See, e.g., the data accumulated by Fohrer (*Die Hauptprobleme*, 122–34) and by Mark Rooker (*Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel* [JSOTSup 90; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990]).

[7] A note is in order regarding pronouns and the author of GO. I strive throughout the monograph to avoid using any pronouns for the author of GO. On rare occasions, however, it cannot be avoided. In those cases, I use a masculine pronoun, only because it is very unlikely, due to cultural constraints, that our author was a woman. There are a few records of women with scribal training at Mari and Sippar, but the evidence indicates

B. Selecting an Approach

The reuse of Scripture has become a major subject of research inquiry within the study of the literatures of ancient Israel, early Judaism, and emergent Christianity. Studies of scriptural reuse in the Hebrew Bible, versions, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, rabbinic literature, New Testament, and church fathers are multiplying at an extraordinary rate.[8] This has significantly complicated the process of settling on a methodology. The methodological debate is fraught with many complexities: terminological pluriformity, intentionality, directionality, issues of orality and textuality, textual authority, and scribal practices. The following paragraphs merely serve to clarify some of the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches with respect to this study.[9]

Broadly speaking, there are at least five fields of research that have exerted influence on the study of textual reuse within biblical studies. I have somewhat artificially identified these sets with the following fields of study: (1) literature, (2) text linguistics, (3) New Testament studies, (4) Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature, and (5) midrash.[10]

I. Literature

1. Quotation, Allusion, Echo, and Influence

Of the five sets of approaches described here, studies of scriptural reuse that are based upon the literary study of quotation, allusion, and echo are the least fashionable but the most venerable.[11] In biblical studies, the line

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that female scribes only served as secretaries for women of the nobility (see, e.g., Brigitte Lion, "Dame Inanna-ama-mu, scribe à Sippar," *RA* 95 [2001]: 7–32). Within early Judaism, women were included among those barred from serving as scribes, as were slaves, Gentiles, Samaritans, heretics, and informers (*b. Gitt*. 45b; *Sof.* 1.14).

[8] The best introduction to scriptural reuse in all these contexts is still *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. Jan Mulder; CRINT II/1; Assen and Minneapolis: Van Gorcum and Fortress, 1990). *Mikra* has held up remarkably well considering the incredible ferment in the field since it was published two decades ago.

[9] For a more thorough literature review, organized chronologically, see Bernard Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 95–181.

[10] It cannot be emphasized enough that these are generalizations. No practitioner of any one approach will perfectly reflect the descriptions offered below. This five-fold scheme serves a heuristic purpose only: to explain why I have turned to certain bodies of literature for the execution of this study rather than to others.

[11] Classical authors, beginning with Quintillian, were acutely interested in the transformative power of allusion, in particular, as it might be exploited for rhetorical impact. They referred to such allusions as *metalepsis* (Greek) or *transumption* (Latin). Many cen-

between quotation and allusion is blurry. There is no standard for how many borrowed words are required to qualify an allusion as a quotation. Nor do biblical scholars agree on whether identical morphology and order of elements are required in a quotation.[12] Literary theorists, however, have not always had the same trouble distinguishing the two. *Quotation* differs from allusion in that it requires, in addition to identical or nearly identical verbal repetition, an observable division between the quotation and the context, preferably an identification of the source text.[13] These two qualities, repetition and division, are usually referred to as "literalness" and "discreteness."[14] Quotation, by this definition, is very rare in the HB.

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turies later, the term *transumption* became a metaphor for the entire Renaissance movement, which was, in a sense, a *transumption* of Classical culture (Meyer H. Abrams, "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric," in *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle* [ed. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom; New York: Oxford University Press, 1965], 527–60).

[12] Biblical scholars have tended to focus on reproduction of words or lexemes as the essential marker of quotation. E.g., Rex Mason refers to any string of "identical or nearly identical words" as a quotation ("The Use of Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah 9–14: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," PhD diss. reprinted in *Bringing Out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9–14* [ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd; JSOTSup 370; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003], 301). Richard Schultz defines quotation as "conscious repetition of words previously spoken or written by another." In other words, for Schultz, any intentional, marked use of an antecedent text is a "quotation" (R. L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* [JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 211).

[13] Identicality is a requirement of quotation only in so far as it is needed to mark the parameters of the quotation. When quoting, an author may alter the words of the source text so long as readers can identify the points at which the quoted material begins and ends in the target text (see Herbert H. Clark and Richard R. Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations," *Language* 66 [1990]: 764–805).

[14] Stephan Morawski stresses these two elements in his definition of quotation. (Note that Morawski's definition encompasses so-called quotations in music and other fine arts.) "Quotation is the literal reproduction of a verbal text of a certain length or of a set of images, notes, sounds, movements, or a combination of all or some of these elements within a verbal text, wherein what is reproduced forms an integral part of some work and can easily be detached from the new whole in which it is incorporated . . . The crucial features of the quotation are its LITERALNESS and its DISCRETENESS in relation to the structure in which it has been inserted. To the former is related the question of accuracy or fidelity; the latter is responsible for its appearance" ("The Basic Functions of Quotation," in *Sign, Language and Culture* [ed. A. J. Greimas; The Hague: Mouton, 1970], 691 [caps. original]).

Udo J. Hebel (*Intertextuality, Allusion, and Quotation: An International Bibliography of Critical Studies* [New York: Greenwood Press, 1989], 3) summarizes the state of the discussion as follows: "On the whole, most scholars currently tend to de-emphasize the criterion of literalness, to underscore the aspect of discreteness, and to include titles and names in a discussion of quotational elements." On the ways that discreteness is indicated in written and spoken quotation, see Barbara H. Partee, "The Syntax and Semantics

Among the few cases are Num 21.14, which quotes five poetic lines from "The Book of the Wars of Yhwh" and 2 Sam 1.19–27, which quotes from "The Book of Yashar."[15] When the HB does cite a source text, it usually does so without quoting (literalness without discreteness). These are, properly speaking, cases of allusion not quotation.[16]

Within traditional literary studies, *allusion* is defined as the "deliberate incorporation of identifiable elements from other sources, preceding or contemporaneous, textual or extra-textual."[17] In other words, the study of allusion concerns itself with intentional, recognizable dependence on something external to the text under examination. Ziva Ben-Porat defines *literary* allusion as follows:

> [L]iterary allusion is a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts. The activation is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger "referent." This referent is always an

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of Quotation," in *A Festschrift for Morris Halle* [ed. S. R. Anderson and P. Kiparsky; New York: Reinhart and Winston Inc., 1973], 410–18). For a clear and cogent discussion on the validation and use of quotations see Heinrich Plett, "The Poetics of Quotation," in *Von der verbalen Konstitution zur symbolischen Bedeutung* (ed. J. S. Petöfi and T. Olivi; Hamburg: Beske, 1988), 313–34. One of the few biblical scholars to recognize and stress these two requirements of quotation is Eduard König, "Gibt es 'Zitat' im Alten Testament?" *NKZ* 15 (1904): 734–46.

[15] Benjamin Sommer refers to such citations as "explicit citations." According to him, this differs from implicit citation in that it "uses some formula to make manifest that [*sic*] it is referring to" (*A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998], 21). He also has a special category called "inclusion," in which one work – without citing the source – incorporates whole sections of an older work (p. 22). E.g., Prov 22.17–23.11 incorporates a selection of passages from "The Wisdom of Amenemope" without citing it as the source. Michael Fishbane has a similar category which he calls "marked intertextuality" ("Types of Biblical Intertextuality," in *Congress Volume: Oslo, 1998* [ed. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 41). Fishbane uses the term "marker" to refer to a citation formula. "Marker," however, has a technical sense in literature, which differs from Fishbane's use (cf. Michael Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* [Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1978]).

[16] In the HB citations typically occur in three circumstances. (1) A biblical author may cite in the interest of disclosure: to identify a source for a literary composition (1 Kgs 11.41), the origin of an utterance (Josh 10.13b), or a book read before the community (Neh 8.1–8). (2) An author may identify a source text to appeal to its authority during a religious activity (Ezra 3.2). (3) Finally, an author may cite an oracle on the occasion of its fulfillment (Dan 9.2; 2 Chr 36.21).

[17] "The test for a[llusion] is that it is a phenomenon that some reader or readers may fail to observe" (Earl Miner, "Allusion," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* [ed. A. Preminger and T. Brogan; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993], 39; see also William A. Irwin, "What is an Allusion?" *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59/3 (2001): 287–89. Meir Sternberg considers allusion a type of covert quotation, like parody, imitation, pastiche and free indirect style ("Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse," *PT* 3 [1982]: 107–56).

independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined.[18]

Literary allusion, then, is between written texts, and it is intentional.[19] It presupposes that readers have access (physically or through memory[20]) to the evoked text, and that readers' recognition of the allusion will influence their understanding of both the evoked and alluding texts, maximizing the scope and complexity of an allusion's effects.[21] Recognition of the source text, then, is absolutely central to the success of an allusion, so the author must provide the reader with signals betraying the linkage. E. E. Kellett articulates this point with the following illustration:

Here is a man who steals, and boasts of his thefts: he covers his walls with paintings, and openly proclaims they are taken from a National Gallery. He is not like the Spartan boy

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[18] Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal of Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 107–8. See also Alan Nadel, "Translating the Past: Literary Allusions as Covert Criticism," *Georgia Review* 36 [1982]: 650; Udo J. Hebel, "Toward a Descriptive Poetics of Allusion," in *Intertextuality* [ed. Heinrich F. Plett; RTT 15; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991], 139–40).

[19] See Robert Alter (*The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* [New York: Norton, 1996], 115–16) and William Irwin ("Allusion?" 290–94). Sommer, following Chandler and Seidel, does not regard intentionality as a requirement of allusion. He argues that authors can allude without intending to do so, due to an unconscious influence on them by other writers. He quotes Moshe Seidel, "The words a person reads and hears and repeats become his own, enter his verbal storehouse. When needed, they become, even if he does not know it, the clothing for the thoughts to which he gives birth" (Seidel cited by Sommer, *A Prophet*, 208–9; so also Stephanie Ross, "Art and Allusion," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40 [1981]: 60). However, we should point out that an unconscious allusion is not discernibly different from an intentional allusion (Carmella Perri, "On Alluding," *Poetics* 7 [1978]: 300). It still implies a choice by the author, informed by a conscious or unconscious approval of the appropriateness of the marker(s) in the new context. A demonstrable link is thus forged between two texts, which effects the reading of (at least) the evoking text.

[20] In the words of Reuben Brower, the source text is "part of the portable library shared by the author and his ideal audience" (*Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion*; cited by John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981], 64).

[21] Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 116. Hebel explains: "[A] successful allusion does not simply direct the reader to another text on a purely referential level. More specifically, a successful allusion enriches the alluding text semantically by going beyond the level of mere denotation" ("Descriptive Poetics," 138; see also Chana Kronfeld, "Allusion: An Israeli Perspective," *Prooftexts* 5 (1985): 138). Wolf Schmid refers to this phenomenon as "intersemanticity," which has generated the alternative title "intersemantic allusion" ("Sinnpotentiale der diegetischen Allusion: Aleksander Puškins Posthalter-novelle und ihre Prätexte," in *Dialog der Texte: Hamberger Kolloquium zur Intertextu-alität* [ed. W. Schmid and W.-D. Stempel; Vienna: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, 1983], 145–46).

who stole and gained glory if undetected: he *desires* to be detected, and deliberately leaves clues to guide his pursuers to their prey.[22]

Authors signal that they are alluding by incorporating elements of the evoked text into their composition.[23] Once these elements are recognized, other connections (conceptual, thematic, structural, or affective) may become observable. This represents the dynamic power of allusion. It enables an author to evoke anything from a single clause to an entire antecedent text. [24]

Allusion, though, cannot map the full set of a text's literary dependencies. The categories *echo* and *influence* account for literary dependencies which are not semantically transformative. An echo is an allusion that is deliberate but not intended to enrich the semantic value of the evoked or alluding texts. It is a phenomenon of "sound and symbol."[25] At its most basic level, echo includes alliteration, rhyme, and refrain. More sophisticated cases may mimic the structure, subject matter, or tropes of the evoked text. Echoes, when recognized, serve an affective or ornamental role.[26] Heinrich Plett refers to them as "poetic" allusions, because they serve poetic, not semantic, purposes. In his words, this type of allusion is "characterized by its lack of an immediate practical purpose." When recognized by a reader, it serves only to produce "disinterested satisfaction."[27] Because they are not intended to affect the semantic value of the

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[22] Ernst E. Kellett, *Literary Quotation and Allusion* (Port Washington, N.Y./London: Kennikat Press, 1969), 3 (emphasis original).

[23] The "same sign points toward another text (its larger referent) in which the symbol constituting the sign may acquire different denotations." Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 108.

[24] Kronfeld, "Allusion," 146–51; Perri, "On Alluding," 292; James Coombs, "Allusion Defined and Explained," *Poetics* 13 (1984): 481; Michael Leddy, "The Limits of Allusion," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 32 (1992): 112.

[25] Hollander (*Echo*, 23–61, 62–64, 72) equates the relationship between poles of an echo with the relationship between a word's contemporary use and its etymology. The two may have an incidental similarity or no similarity at all. And yet, they are aurally and visually linked (T. V. F. Brogan and L. Perrine, "Echo Verse," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* [ed. A. Preminger and T. Brogan; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993], 281).

[26] Kronfeld, "Allusion," 139; Morawski, "Basic Functions," 695–96; Plett, "Intertextualities," 14; Perri, "On Alluding," 301–2. The term "echo" has been adopted by certain biblical scholars like Richard Hays (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989]) and Patricia Tull-Willey (*Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah* [SBLDS 161; Atlanta: Scholars, 1997]) to describe the "rhetorical and semantic effects" of inner-biblical allusions (Hays, *Echoes*, 19). This represents a resignification of the term "echo" to include "semantic effects."

[27] Plett, "Intertextualities," 14. The opening line of the Gettysburg Address, e.g., is an echo of Gen 1.1. It mirrors the language and structure of Gen 1.1 but does not effect a

alluding or evoked texts, recognition of an echo is not necessary for understanding the alluding author's argument.[28]

Authors, regardless of their originality, are always dependent upon and mimic the literature that they know. These forces (whether generic, structural, poetic, figural, or whatever), which are not necessarily intentional or discreet, are referred to as *influences*. Harold Bloom describes this dynamic in the following way:

> [Authors] of capable imagination appropriate for themselves. But nothing is got for nothing, and self-appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness, for what strong maker desires the realization that he has failed to create himself? . . . [Strong authors] wrestle with their strong precursors.[29]

There are two major benefits of a traditional literary approach for the study of ancient Israelite and early Jewish texts.[30] First, the clear, flexible explication of the differences between quotation, allusion, echo, and influence are important functional categories. Concern for all four categories (regardless of the names one ascribes to them) enables one to weigh the full measure of a text's literary dependencies. Second, the category *allusion*, in particular, is sensitive to the ways that authors can use small discrete markers to evoke an entire context. This latter quality, in particular, has often been overlooked in the biblical study of reuse. There are, how-

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semantic transformation of any kind: "Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation" // "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Lincoln's consciousness of the echo is, perhaps, indicated by the omission of "on this continent" in the oral delivery.

[28] It is a canon of hermeneutical theory that there is no true synonymity. See, e.g., Rudolf Carnap, *Meaning and Necessity*, 2d ed (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956); Paul Ziff, *Semantic Analysis* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960); Roy Harris, *Synonymy and Linguistic Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973). In other words, one text's reuse of another, however accomplished, always effects some transformation, however small. Echo, however, hangs not on a belief in synonymity but on a quality of intentionality. If an author intended to allude but did not intend the ideal reader to identify, recall, or reference the evoked text, then the allusion in question is an echo (see Jon Paulien, "Elusive Allusions: The Problematic Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *BR* 33 [1988]: 37–53). This raises the question of the tenability of intentionality as a hermeneutical category, on which see the comments on "intertextuality" as conceived by text linguists below.

[29] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 5.

[30] The three most prominent studies from this angle, on HB, NT, and DSS respectively, are probably Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, and Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (*STDJ* 59; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006). My own dissertation, completed in 2006, employed such an approach ("'I Spoke in Former Days . . .': Inner-biblical Allusion in the Gog Oracles," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006).

ever, some significant limitations to a traditional literary approach. Most profoundly, there are no mechanisms for determining the direction of dependence in these models. Naturally, direction of dependence is not in question in modern literature where literary biographies and copywrite dates place issues of directionality beyond dispute. Also, some of the categories employed in modern literary approaches are not relevant to ancient literature. With regard to allusion, for example, theorists distinguish between "direct reference" and "indirect reference," allusions in which the source text is clearly indicated (by a name or title) and those in which it is not. But, as Michael Lyons has wisely asked, "What would direct reference [in this context] look like? We simply do not know how Ezekiel would have identified his source for his readers."[31] A study of inner-biblical scriptural reuse, though it can benefit from literary studies of allusion, requires a method that is rigorous with regard to directionality and one that accounts for features and techniques of reuse that are operative in antiquity.

2. Post-Structuralism: Intertextuality[32]

The term "intertextuality" was coined by Julia Kristeva.[33] Kristeva conceived of intertextuality as a cultural phenomenon. Though certainly a feature of literature, it is native to any system of signifiers. "If one grants that every signifying practice is a field of transpositions of various signifying systems (an intertextuality), one then understands that its 'place' of enunciation and its denoted 'object' are never single, complete, and identical to themselves, but always plural, shattered, capable of being tabulated." With respect to the "reading" process, she distinguished between what she called the *genotext* and the *phenotext*.[34] The phenotext is the object of analysis – a work of art or literature, a ritual or tradition, a culture or community. The genotext is the feature of the "text" that springs from the subconscious. It is an assembled mass of all the elements of all the "texts" one has encountered in the past. Authors infuse their phenotexts with their own genotext. Readers, as texts in their own right, bring their own geno-

[31] Michael A. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code* (LHBOTS 507; London and New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 53.

[32] On the history and development of intertextuality as a conceptual and methodological category, see Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[33] Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, and Novel," in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora et. al.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 69–94. See also "The Bounded Text," ibid., 36–63; Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language* (trans. Margaret Waller; New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

[34] Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue, Novel," 86–89.

text to bear on any phenotext they encounter. Intertextuality is the constant, unavoidable interplay between genotext(s) and phenotext(s), informing, altering, even undercutting one another. Intertextuality is an inescapable psycho-cultural attribute. Jonathan Culler described intertextuality as follows:

> Intertextuality thus becomes less a name for a work's relation to particular prior texts than a designation of its participation in the discursive space of a culture: the relationship between a text and various languages or signifying practices of a culture and its relation to those texts which articulate for it the possibilities of that culture.[35]

Kristeva's original idea has been appropriated by many theorists for different purposes. Gérard Genette and Michael Riffaterre used the concept in the service of structuralism.[36] Both made the case that every literary work is an unavoidable composite of preexisting literary materials. Riffaterre highlighted the ways that authors *mark* their dependencies, whether consciously or unconsciously. Genette focused his attention more abstractly on the relationship between a given work and the universe of literary signifiers from which it is built. Roland Barthes used the concept to argue anew for the notion of a text as an artifact, divorced from its author. For Barthes, as for the new critics of earlier decades, the very notion of an author was detrimental to literary analysis.[37]

Biblical scholars have also appropriated the term "intertextuality" for their own purposes, using it, mainly, as a synonym for "allusion." James Nogalski, for example, in his "Intertextuality and the Twelve," clarified: "Here 'intertextuality' means the interrelationship between two or more texts which evidence suggests (1) was deliberately established by ancient authors/editors or (2) was presupposed by those authors/editors. Such delimitation intentionally avoids the question of readings which are oriented

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[35] Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 1981), 103.

[36] Gérard Genette, *Figures of Literary Discourse* (trans. Alan Sheridan; New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry*; Allen, *Intertextuality*, 95–98.

[37] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image-Music-Text* (trans. Stephen Neath; New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142–48; *Elements of Semiology* (trans. Anette Lavers and Colin Smith; London: Jonathan Cape, 1984); Allen, *Intertextuality*, 70–76; Sean M. Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); H. L. Hix, *Morte d'Author: An Autopsy* (Arts and their Philosophies Series; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991). Cf. Susan Friedman, "Weavings: Intertexuality and the (Re)Birth of the Author," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* (ed. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 146–80.

toward the modern reader."[38] James Charlesworth, in an often-cited example, sniped "I use intertextuality as one aspect of historical criticism, and certainly not as the post-structuralists do."[39] Michael Fishbane is even more explicit about the synonymy of "intertextuality" and "allusion" in his personal lexicon: ". . . new texts may embed, reuse, or otherwise allude to precursor materials – both as strategy for meaning-making, and for establishing the authority of a given innovation. Put in a nutshell, I would say that intertextuality is a form that literary creativity takes when innovation is grounded in tradition."[40] Attempts to resignify "intertextuality" in biblical studies run the risk of, at best, disorienting readers and, at worst, diluting the value and utility of our scholarly technical vocabulary.[41]

Intertextuality, as construed by Kristeva, is a cultural and phenomenological category. It cannot be used in investigations that are concerned with diachronic issues like literary dependence, composition history, and the interpretation of preexisting texts. As a result, it is not a suitable approach for this study.

II. Text Linguistics: Intertextuality

Text linguistics is not a single theory or method but a direction of inquiry. Teun van Dijk has stressed that text linguistics designates any language science devoted to texts as the primary object of study.[42] This explanation, though correct, is not terribly useful. It does not distinguish text linguistics from other species of textual investigation, like orthography or translation science. More concretely, van Dijk conceives of text grammars in terms of problems that sentence grammars cannot address. For this, van Dijk turned to cognitive psychology for a pragmatic model of text processing, investigating the mental operations people used to construct meaning from a giv-

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[38] Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (ed. James Watts and Paul House; JSOTSup 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 102–3.

[39] Charlesworth, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yaḥad," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Craig Evans and Shemaryahu Talmon; BIS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 204.

[40] Fishbane, "Types of Biblical Intertextuality," 39.

[41] See the telling comments by Ellen van Wolde, "Trendy Intertextuality?" in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honor of Bas van Iersel* (ed. Sipke Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989), 43–49.

[42] Teun van Dijk, *The Structures and Functions of Discourse*. Lecture at the University of Puerto Rico (Rio Piedras, 1979); cited in *Disciplines of Discourse* (ed. T. van Dijk; vol. 1 of *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*; Berkeley: University of California Academic Press, 1985), 65.

en text.[43] Other text linguists focus more deliberately on the act of communication itself rather than receivers, per se. De Beaugrande and Dressler "require that a science of texts should be able to describe or explain both the shared features and the distinctions among texts or text types." This would include the "standards texts must fulfill, how they might be produced or received" and "what people are using them for in a given setting of occurrence."[44]

Intertextuality is a basic concept in text linguistics, though its use there differs profoundly from its use in post-structuralism. A text, according to de Beaugrande and Dressler, is a communicative occurrence that meets seven standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, intentionality,[45] acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality.[46] Intertextuality, here, means "the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts." This is similar to the use of the term in post-structuralism in that the text-linguistic notion of intertextuality is diachronic only with respect to the

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[43] See especially, Walter Kintsch and Teun van Dijk, "Cognitive Psychology and Discourse: Recalling and Summarizing Stories," in *Current Trends in Text Linguistics* (ed. Wolfgang Dressler; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 61–80.

[44] Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1981), 3.

[45] Despite the so-called intentional fallacy, intentionality is an important category in text linguistics and text pragmatics. For discussion see, especially, Denis Dutton, "Why Intentionalism Won't Go Away," in *Literature and the Question of Philosophy* (ed. Anthony J. Cascardi; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 192–209. See also, Michel Charolles, "Coherence as a Principle in the Interpretation of Discourse," *Text* 3 (1981): 71–99; "Coherence as a Principle in the Regulation of Discursive Production," in *Connexity and Coherence: Analysis of Text and Discourse* (ed. W. Heydrich, F. Neubauer, J. Petöfi, and E. Sözer; RTT 12; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 3–15; Nils Enkvist, "From Text to Interpretability: A Contribution to the Discussion of Basic Terms in Text Linguistics," in *Connexity and Coherence: Analysis of Text and Discourse* (ed. W. Heydrich, F. Neubauer, J. Petöfi, and E. Sözer; RTT 12; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 369–82; D. Newton de Molina (ed.), *On Literary Intention: Critical Essays* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976).

[46] The elements of textuality, excluding intertextuality, are defined as follows (de Beaugrande and Dressler, *Introduction*, 2–13): Cohesion "concerns the ways in which the components of the surface text . . . are mutually connected within a sequence" (3). Coherence "concerns the ways in which the components of the textual world . . . which underlie the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant" (4). Intentionality concerns the "text producer's attitude that the set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text instrumental in fulfilling the producer's intentions" (7). Acceptability is the "text receiver's attitude that the set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text, having some use or relevance for the receiver" (7). Informativity "concerns the extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected vs. unexpected or known vs. unknown/certain" (8–9). Situationality "concerns the factors which make a text relevant to a situation or occurrence" (9).

reader. Regardless of the relative date of composition, a communicative occurrence qualifies as an intertext, if it is meant to be *encountered* first. It is also similar to the traditional literary categories we have already examined in that text-linguistic intertextuality is concerned with any type of dependency. In literary terms we might say that it deals with everything from quotation to influence.[47]

Text linguistics is particularly caught-up in the investigation of "text types," a phrase which encompasses both "genre" and "communication context." To cite, again, from de Beaugrand and Dressler,

> Intertextuality is, in a general fashion, responsible for the evolution of text types as classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics. Within a particular type, reliance on intertextuality may be more or less prominent. In types like parodies, critical reviews, rebuttals, or reports the text producer must consult the prior text continually, and text receivers will usually need some familiarity with the latter.[48]

Text types have garnered a great deal of attention from text linguists as a procedural control over all communicative activities.[49] On the one hand, text linguistics seeks to distill and systematize the universal qualities of texts. On the other hand, it attempts to identify qualities that are unique to a given communication context. Text types in particular, are ideally suited to identifying persistent conventions and examining their use or adaptation in any given context.

Text-linguistic notions of intertextuality are conceptually valuable because they integrate notions of dependence within a coherent, sophisticated, empirical system of text production and reception. The value of text-linguistic models, particularly in terms of text pragmatics, is difficult to overemphasize. Still, the category is too expansive on several accounts to supply the methodology for a study like this one. It addresses phenomena of any medium of communication, not just literary communication. Further, dependency is conceived of in the broadest possible way. For example, it includes the necessity of a reader having encountered a genre or idiom for successful communication. Thus, while text linguistic theory has informed the design of this study and suggested new research questions, I require a model of reuse that is culturally informed, built on empirical models of scribal practice in ancient Israel and emergent Judaism, and one which uses a discourse that is native to biblical studies.

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[47] See Göran Hermerén, "Allusions and Intentions," in *Intention and Interpretation* (ed. Gary Iseminger; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 209.

[48] De Beaugrand and Dressler, *Introduction*, 10–11.

[49] See Vladimir Skalička, "Kontext-orientierte Typologie," in *Studies in Linguistic Typology* (ed. Milan Romportl et. al.; Prague: Charles University Press, 1977), 17–23; see also *Textsorten: Differenzierungskriterien aus linguistischer Sicht* (ed. Elisabeth Gülich and Wolfgang Raible; Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1972).

III. New Testament Studies: Use of the OT in the NT

Within biblical studies, the investigation of quotation and allusion has a long history. Until the emergence of inner-biblical interpretation as promoted by Michael Fishbane and the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the discipline was dominated by methods and issues set by New Testament studies. The New Testament's traits made it a uniquely suitable body of literature for exploring the phenomena of quotation, in particular. It is a self-contained body of literature, from a small religious community, produced within a narrow period of history, which, on many occasions, self-consciously cites its source texts. Scholars working before the mid-twentieth century, who were studying quotation and allusion in the HB, were, with few exceptions, principally dependent on the issues and methods developed by their colleagues in NT studies.[50]

In previous generations, NT studies on the reuse of antecedent texts (particularly the HB) manifested some persistent weaknesses. Many studies of the use of the OT in the NT display a penchant for elaborate, idiosyncratic typologies of the forms and methods of reuse.[51] Earl Ellis, for example, identified no less than twenty-two "common" types of OT reuse in the NT, drawn from many disciplines, time periods, and bodies of literature.[52] This has resulted in an uncritical or anachronistic application of in-

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[50] See Schultz's exhaustive literature review of studies on quotation in HB (*Search for Quotation*, 18–61). Schultz's book is, at many points, a continuation of the issues and methods of these earlier studies, which is reflected in its concern to define and identify "quotations" in HB.

[51] E.g., at the time this note was written, there were at least twenty-seven book-length works produced after 1960 on the reuse of Scripture in Revelation. No two accounted for the data using exactly the same terminology or methodology: M. H. Shepard (1960); A. Vanhoye (1962); A. Lancellotti (1964); C. G. Ozanne (1964); M. D. Ezell (1970); E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1972); D. A. Gray (1974); A. Y. Collins (1976); F. Jenkins (1976); J. S. Casey (1981); G. K. Beale (1984); J. M. Vogelgesang (1985); J. Paulien (1987); T. J. Mills (1989); J. P. Ruiz (1989); G. S. Adamson (1992); G. L. Linton (1993); R. Bauckham (1993); J. Fekkes (1994); S. Moyise (1995); J. A. McLean (1996); R. A. Briggs (1999); S. Bøe (2001); P. Lee (2001); G. Stevenson (2001); B. Kowalski (2004); and M. Jauhiainen (2005). See bibliography for full citations.

[52] Earl Ellis, "Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament Church," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT II/1; Assen and Minneapolis: Van Gorcum and Fortress, 1990), 691–724. His categories, which mix issues of form, method, and motive in unacknowledged ways, include the following: quotations (with formulae), the seven middot of Hillel, midrash (implicit and explicit), *testimonia*, eschatological interpretation (four types), typology (four types), and corporeity (two types). This is not to deny the legitimacy of Ellis's observations regarding any particular example. I mention him merely to illustrate the tendency toward agglomeration that characterizes certain NT approaches.

terpretive techniques and categories to the NT, notably from early Judaism (e.g., pesher, midrash, the middot).[53] The effect is that the methodological controls and cultural specificity provided by comparative study were, in many cases, lost or distorted.[54] In addition, the majority of monographs on the use of the OT in the NT with which I am familiar have gravely underestimated the textual plurality in the Second Temple period and the complexity of the textual history of the Hebrew texts and versions, which have no parallel in the NT manuscript record.[55]

In recent decades, studies on the use of the OT in the NT have become increasingly nuanced, accounting for the textual evidence from the Second Temple period with more accuracy and rigor.[56] Driving this growing sophistication in NT studies are the many advances in inner-biblical interpre-

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[53] (In)famous examples include: Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament* (ASNU 20; Lund: Gleerup, 1967); Richard Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975); Robert Gundry, *Matthew: Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

[54] See the important but overlooked methodological comments by Julio Trebolle Barerra, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Grand Rapids and Leiden: Eerdmans and Brill, 1998), 490–504. See also the corrective yet charming essays by Philip Alexander on the misuse of midrash and other rabbinic categories in NT studies: "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament," *ZNW* 74 (1983): 237-46; "Midrash and the Gospels," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences 1982 and 1983*, (ed. Christopher Mark Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1984), 1–18 (cf. Gary Porten, "Defining Midrash," in *Mishnah, Midrash, Siddur* [ed. Jacob Neusner; vol. 1 of *The Study of Ancient Judaism*; New York: Ktav, 1981], 55–92).

[55] Among the most persistent problems that I have observed are the following: (1) identifying the MT, tacitly or otherwise, as the source of NT quotations; (2) citing academic abstractions, like "the Septuagint," as if they were sources; (3) failing to recognize that NT quotations are independent textual witnesses in their own right; (4) failing to distinguish between a reading and a source; (5) making anachronistic assumptions about textual authority and canonicity in Second Temple Judaism; and (6) failure to recognize and account for scriptural pluriformity in the Second Temple period. By way of illustration, compare R. T. McLay's clear presentation of some known facts of textual production, dissemination, and pluriformity in the Second Temple period, with the response to it in the same volume: R. Timothy McLay, "Biblical Texts and the Scriptures for the New Testament Church," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament* [ed. Stanley Porter; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006], 38–58; Andreas J. Köstenberger, "Hearing the Old Testament in the New: A Response," ibid., 261–65).

[56] Exemplary, in this regard, are the studies on the Christian book of Revelation by Richard Bauckham (*The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993]), Sverre Bøe (*Gog and Magog. Ezekiel 38–39 as pre-text for Revelation 19, 17–21 and 20, 7–10* [WUNT II/135; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), and the study of the book of Hebrews by Susan E. Docherty (*The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews* [WUNT II/260; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010]).

tation and Second Temple studies in the past half-century. Studies of the use of the OT in the NT, then, are increasingly derivative of studies in other fields. As such, they do not substantially inform the methodology of this study.

IV. Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature

1. Inner-Biblical Interpretation: Fishbane

The study of inner-biblical interpretation did not become *de rigueur* for students and academics of the HB until the publication of Michael Fishbane's *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* in 1985.[57] In his words, inner-biblical interpretation pays particular attention to "how the texts that comprise [the HB] were revised and even reauthorized during the course of many centuries, and how older traditions fostered new insights which, in turn, thickened the intertextual matrix of the culture and conditioned its imagination."[58] Fishbane's attention has been riveted by the intentional embellishment, reapplication, revision, or reinterpretation of antecedent texts by later texts. He shows that the (re)interpretation of tradition is not just a postbiblical or postcanonical phenomenon, it is an inner-biblical phenomenon as well, being widely practiced within the pages of the HB. Fishbane's work is grounded in comparative scribal practices in other ancient Near Eastern cultures and in early Judaism, revealing continuities in form and technique that span two millennia. Moreover, his work is sensitive to the different techniques at play in different genres and corpora. His examination of reuse is focused not just on exegetical practice but the cultural mechanisms that permit such reuse.[59]

In his more recent work *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking* (2003), Fishbane widened his focus to examine the traditional and intellectual culture that not only permitted but encouraged the recreation of its textual heritage. In this work, Fishbane focuses on two mythic motifs, God as Creator and the Divine Warrior, tracing their development from their origins in ancient Near Eastern myths, through the HB, the rabbinic literature, and into medieval Jewish literature, especially the Zohar. Fishbane focuses not on the trajectories these motifs take so much as the cultural mechanisms by which they are constantly adapted and reconceptualized. In

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[57] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

[58] Michael Fishbane, "Inner-biblical Exegesis: Types and Strategies of Interpretation in Ancient Israel," chapter in *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 4.

[59] *Biblical Interpretation*; "The Hebrew Bible and Exegetical Tradition," in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel* (ed. Johannes C. de Moor; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 15–30; *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

this investigation, Fishbane's attention has shifted from specific texts to traditions and motifs that are central to the Jewish religious imagination.

Fishbane's research has permanently changed the academic landscape.[60] One enduring contribution of his work is its methodological rigor and his insistence on proper validation when asserting that one text reused another. As he documents, these qualities were sometimes lacking in earlier studies of scriptural reuse. More specifically, Fishbane's emphasis on the writtenness of Scripture has highlighted the ways that extant texts provided later authors with templates, formal exemplars, on which they could pattern their own compositions, and with a stock of language, images, symbols, and topoi which they could mine. Moreover, his emphasis on cultural mechanisms roots each text in its appropriate scribal (or liturgical) context and sets it within a broader developmental context of literature and imagination. These are, broadly speaking, the goals of this study as well, a study that would be impossible if it were not for the work of Michael Fishbane.

What sets the approach of this study apart from Fishbane's has to do with motives and effects more than with methods. For example, I am seldom convinced in those cases where Fishbane concludes that inner-biblical exegetical activity was motivated by an ambition to *replace* or *supplant* its source text(s), when "a tradition is offset, demoted, or even replaced by a new text."[61] This assertion (by no means uncommon in Fishbane's work) moves too quickly from method to motive. Comparative evidence from the Second Temple period paints a different picture. Rewritten scriptural compositions, for example, do not seem to have been written to replace the authoritative sources which they rework. This is apparent in the fact that rewritten texts tend not to be cited elsewhere as authorities, but their scriptural sources continue to be quoted.

A second difference between Fishbane's work and my own has to do with the purpose of inner-biblical interpretation within prophetic texts.

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[60] To freely adapt the rhapsodical words of Albert Schweitzer, "Wie der Wanderer, der nach mühseliger Wanderung durch wogendes Riedgras endlich den Wald betritt, statt Sumpf festen Boden unter sich und statt biegsamen Schilfes unverrückbare Bäume um sich hat: also der Leser, der von Bloch und La Déaut zu Michael Fishbane kommt." (Original quote can be found in *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, 2d ed. [Tübingen: Mohr, 1913], 232.)

[61] *Biblical Interpretation*, 421. Bernard Levinson, whose work has also exerted considerable influence on the present author, is even more explicit with respect to Deuteronomy's "displacement" of the Covenant Code: "The authors of Deuteronomy retroject into the past their modernist transformation of the tradition. . . . The function of the pseudepigraph is that it displaces not only the previous tradition (the authoritative text) but also that tradition's just claim to priority" (*Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997], 150).

Fishbane equates prophetic exegesis with mantological practices of Mesopotamian divination. Prophetic oracles are obscure and enigmatic, requiring the mantic skills of the wise to decrypt. This mantic approach was encouraged, according to Fishbane, by the nonfulfillment of oracles. The claim that the true significance of an oracle is neither obvious nor easy enabled later scribes (exegetes) to explain oracles as having been fulfilled in some other way: Isaiah's prophecies about Assyria being fulfilled in the Hellenistic period, for example.[62] Setting aside the equation of prophetic exegesis with ancient Near Eastern mantic practices, I find no evidence within GO that suggests that the author appropriated earlier oracles about a particular nation, time, or circumstance and reapplied them to Gog and the eschaton out of some motivation to provide those oracles with a necessary (and lacking) fulfillment. I seldom find any of Fishbane's arguments for reapplication of prophecy due to nonfulfillment to be compelling.

A final difference can be observed in Fishbane's emphasis on scriptural reuse *as* interpretation. Fishbane is, of course, aware of and his works are informed by the variety of ways that texts reuse antecedent sources, but he reserves his closest scrutiny for *exegetical* reuse. Here I am interested in all species of scriptural reuse and what they can tell us about GO's evolution, composition, context, and argument, as well as the methods and motives by which it was composed.

2. Reuse of Scripture in Second Temple Literature

One of the dominant characteristics of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Pseudepigrapha and other Second Temple literature is their pregnant biblicism. The preponderance of this literature is replete with biblical words, phrases, forms, quotations, and allusions, and with reorganization, reapplication, and reinterpretation of Scripture. Theoretically, much of the work in this field is dependent upon Fishbane, but the varieties of and motives for scriptural reuse in the Second Temple literature are even more varied than they are within the HB. Because of this, scholars working in these fields have been forced to examine many varieties of reuse and to develop

[62] *Biblical Interpretation*, 443–505. See also James C. VanderKam, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 336–53; Andreas Bedenbender, "Jewish Apocalypticism: A Child of Mantic Wisdom?" *Henoch* 24 (2002): 189–96; Leo G. Perdue, "Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Early Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Prophecy After the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. Kristin De Troyer, Armin Lange, and Lucas L. Schulte; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 133–89. On prophetic non-fulfillment, see Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Reactions and Responses to Failure in the Old Testament Prophetic Traditions* (New York: Seabury, 1979); David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC–AD 100* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 181–83.

nuanced and flexible ways of identifying scriptural reuse, which can be tailored to account for the features of any text.[63] To be sure, there are a variety of interpretive genres in Second Temple Judaism that are not apparent in the HB, pesher for instance. The techniques of scriptural interpretation in Second Temple literature, however, often have precursors within the HB. Their widespread appearance in the Second Temple period gives us many comparative examples from which we can hone our understanding of the hermeneutical assumptions and exegetical techniques at play.

One of the greatest merits of the growing body of scholarship on scriptural reuse in Second Temple Jewish literature is that it has supplied many new empirical models of scribal practice and textual reuse for comparison with phenomena within the HB. Hypothetical suggestions regarding practices of scriptural reuse and composition can, increasingly, be subjected to rigorous comparative assessment. Further, demonstrable scribal practices have suggested new questions and lines of inquiry regarding the formation and transmission of the HB itself. Techniques which were rarely cited half a century ago, like *Wiederaufnahme* or *haphak*, are now commonplace. Moreover, most Second Temple texts can be dated far more precisely than HB texts can be. As a result the scribal practices and varieties of scriptural interpretation in these texts can be dated relative to one another. In effect, scholars can now begin to construct complex historical continua of interpretive practices from cuneiform literature to rabbinic literature and beyond.[64] This facilitates more precise dating of texts within the HB, espe-

[63] The literature is far too voluminous to cite. Limiting the list to the most influential examples would still fill many eye-straining pages. Two works that exemplify the varieties of scriptural reuse in this literature are *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) and Devorah Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT II/1; Assen and Minneapolis: Van Gorcum and Fortress, 1990), 379–419. Three excellent, brief introductions to early biblical interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls are Moshe Bernstein, "Interpretation of Scriptures," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 1: 376–83; George Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation at Qumran," in *Scripture and the Scrolls. Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. James Charlesworth; vol. 1 of *The Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls*; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 287–319; and Johann Maier, "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature," in *Antiquity* (ed. Magne Saebø, et al.; vol. I/1 of *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 108–29.

[64] The only study by a single author which attempts such a massive of integration of material across such a span of time is Julio Trebolle Barerra's *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible*, though it is, by design, cursory. Examples of studies which compare practices in narrower periods include: Lou Silbermann, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)," *RevQ* 3 (1961–62): 323–64; Paul Mandel, "Midrashic Exegesis and Its Precedents in the Dead Sea Scrolls,"

cially those texts that manifest phenomena which first emerged in the Second Temple period.

V. Midrash

The relevance of rabbinic midrash to biblical studies has been widely acknowledged since the groundbreaking works of Renée Bloch and Geza Vermes.[65] The definition of midrash and the parameters of the study of midrash, however, have not always been agreed upon. The term "midrash" is often used in imprecise ways for any type of early Jewish interpretation.[66] It is essential, in the first place, to distinguish between midrash as a corpus of rabbinic literature and midrash as an interpretive practice. Midrashic literature is a body of rabbinic texts that manifest certain forms and character traits.[67] What complicates the discussion is that many of these forms and traits are also attested in other interpretive literature.[68] The uniqueness of midrash, then, lies not in its exegetical techniques, but in certain presuppositions constitutive of rabbinic Judaism.[69] These include the

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DSD 8 (2001): 149–68; Martin S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Transformation in Palestinian Judaism, 200 BCE–400 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Alexander Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[65] Renée Bloch, "Midrash," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (ed. Louis Pirot, André Robert, and Henri Cazelles; Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1957), 4/5:1263–81; idem, "A Methodological Note for the Study of Rabbinic Literature," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (ed. W. S. Green; Atlanta: Scholars, 1978), 51–75; Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961); "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis," in *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. Peter Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; vol. 1 in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 199–231.

[66] Philip S. Alexander, "The Rabbinic Hermeneutical Rules and the Problem of the Definition of Midrash," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 8 (1984): 97–125.

[67] Some scholars, like Arnold Goldberg, define this body of rabbinic literature formally, as lemma plus comment ("Die funktionale Form Midrasch," in *Rabbinische Texte als Gegenstand der Auslegung. Gesammelte Studien II* [ed. M. Schlüter and P. Schäfer; TSAJ 73; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999], 199–229). Other scholars limit midrashic literature to the rabbinic collections that are identified as such (so Daniel Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990]).

[68] As one might expect, these presuppositions (and exegetical techniques) also occur in the Targumim. See Alexander Samely, *The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums: A Study of Method and Presentation in Targumic Exegesis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992).

[69] For a list of hermeneutical operations present in the midrashim, see Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation*. For comparisons of technique in the midrashim and other literature, see David Daube, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *HUCA* 22 (1949): 239–64; "Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis," in *Fest-*

following: (1) a belief that Scripture was composed of a set of polysemic graphic signs, (2) a belief in the abiding relevance of Scripture, and (3) a commitment to the consistency and cohesion of Scripture.[70] These presuppositions inspire the rabbis to find connections between scriptural texts that otherwise are not obviously related. When applying rabbinic categories to the HB there is, of course, the danger of anachronism, attributing exegetical practices from a later period to an author within the HB. In this, as in all things, caution is required.[71] Still, the ways that rabbinic exegetes make connections between biblical texts and the ways that they account for these connections are, in many cases, remarkably similar to the inner-biblical exegetical procedures that can be witnessed within the HB itself.

Arnold Goldberg and Alexander Samely have also stressed the essential connection between form and interpretation in midrashic exegesis. Goldberg, in particular, has argued for a bottom-up analysis of midrashic texts, beginning with their smallest units. He identifies and describes the smallest forms, before moving to an analysis of how forms are combined and interrelate to create larger forms.[72] Goldberg typifies rabbinic literature as "tradition literature." Each text is made up of citations from the tradition,

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schrift Hans Lewald: Bei Vollendung des vierzigsten Amtsjahres als ordentlicher Professor im Oktober 1953 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenbahn, 1953), 27–44.

[70] Philip S. Alexander, "Why No Textual Criticism in Rabbinic Midrash? Reflections on the Textual Culture of the Rabbis," in *Jewish Ways of Reading the Bible* (ed. George Brooke; JSSSup 11; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 175–90; Arnold Goldberg, "The Rabbinic View of Scripture," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (ed. P. R. Davies and R. T. White; trans. P. Alexander; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 153–66; "Der verschriftete Sprechakt als rabbinische Literatur," "Die funktionale Form Midrasch," and "Die Schrift der rabbinischen Schriftausleger," in *Rabbinische Texte als Gegenstand der Auslegung. Gesammelte Studien II* (ed. M. Schlüter and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 1–21, 199–229, 230–41; Alexander Samely, "Between Scripture and Its Rewording: Towards a Classification of Rabbinic Exegesis," *JJS* 42 (1991): 39–67; "Scripture's Implicature: The Midrashic Assumptions of Relevance and Consistency," *JSS* 36 (1992): 167–205.

[71] In part to mitigate this problem, Samely has argued against using the rabbinic middot as exegetical categories at all, even when describing exegesis within the midrashim. Rather, in every case he strives to articulate the exact hermeneutical operation at work, regardless of the label given to it by the rabbis (*Rabbinic Interpretation*, 11–15).

[72] These "forms" are in no way coextensive with *Gattungen*. Goldberg's form-analysis should not be confused with form-criticism. See Arnold Goldberg, "Entwurf einer formanalytischen Methode für die Exegese der rabbinischen Traditionsliteratur," "Distributive und kompositive Formen. Vorschläge für die deskriptive Terminologie der Formanalyse rabbinischer Texte," and "Die funktionale Form Midrasch," in *Rabbinische Texte als Gegenstand der Auslegung. Gesammelte Studien II* (ed. M. Schlüter and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 50–79, 107–11, 199–229; Alexander Samely, *Forms of Rabbinic Literature and Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

small forms which have been collected and arranged to construct a new literary form. Rabbinic interpretive operations cannot be separated from the ways that they combine and connect the rabbinic forms. As can be seen in the structure and execution of this study, the form analysis of Goldberg and Samely has profoundly affected my own approach to GO, a text that was composed in a remarkably similar way. Furthermore, as we will see, the presuppositions under which rabbinic exegesis was conducted are closely aligned with the presuppositions of the author of GO.

C. Recognizing Scriptural Reuse

Establishing that any biblical text made deliberate use of another biblical text is fraught with difficulty. No matter how confident one is that a particular text is reusing another, it must be established that the reuse is deliberate and that it is *re*use, that is, one must determine which text is the source text and which is the alluding text. The academic debate on the subject is longstanding; the literature is expansive, and conclusions vary widely. Richard Schultz, before undertaking an examination of so-called quotations in Isaiah, dedicated no less than 189 pages to a survey of the (more or less) relevant literature, both ancient and modern.[73] Considering the explosion of research on this subject in recent decades, there is no doubt that his survey would be many dozens of pages longer if it were brought up to date.

The debate regarding the criteria for establishing reuse has been, if possible, the most uncertain and complex part of the methodological discussion. In some cases, decisions have been driven by preexisting assumptions regarding the compositional history of the HB and the evolution of the religious ideologies of the groups that produced it.[74] For other scholars, most, if not all, examples of reuse could be attributed to the preliterary stages of a tradition or to lost elements of the written tradition. To cite just one example, Fohrer argued that both P and Ezekiel drew upon a common body of emergent priestly literature. Much of the content of this literature surely found its way into the P law codes, but it no longer exists as an independent body of literature that one can point to as the source for any

[73] Schultz, *Search for Quotation*, 18–207.

[74] This is most evident in the pentateuchal criticism of previous generations. Recent years have witnessed a sea-change in this respect, as research into inner-biblical interpretation has exerted increasing influence on our understanding of the evolution of the Torah (see, e.g., the annotated bibliography in Bernard Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008], 95–182).

supposed reuse.[75] In a third set of cases, some scholars have established arbitrary criteria for establishing reuse in an effort to arrive at some assured, indisputable minimum of data.[76] Fortunately, empirical models of scriptural reuse from many periods and from various corpora are now readily available to scholars of the HB for comparison. These models, drawn largely from research into the versions, the Second Temple literature, and the rabbinic exegetical texts provide established points of comparison with practices of scriptural reuse within the HB. As a result, the discussion of validation has gained clarity and focus in the last few decades, both in terms of method and criteria. Methodologically, there are two major components to consider. First, one must establish that deliberate reuse has occurred. Second, the direction of dependence between the two poles of the reuse must be established.[77]

In the paragraphs below, I will summarize the criteria by which I initially judge that scriptural reuse is present and the criteria by which I determine direction of dependence in a given case. It should be stressed, however, that my evaluation of the data was not driven entirely by my methodology. The methodology was, in equal measure, informed by the data. In other words, the criteria discussed below were used as *preliminary criteria*. They are the criteria by which I initially identified potential examples of scriptural reuse in GO and speculated about their relevance to this study (viz. the direction of dependence). However, my subsequent examination of the data often led to the identification of still other examples of reuse or overturned my initial conclusions regarding directionality. Within the detailed evaluation of all the suggested examples of scriptural reuse in GO (chs. 4–5 below), I will offer other arguments for identifying reuse and for drawing conclusion about direction of dependence.

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[75] Georg Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. David Green; Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), 142; idem, *Hauptprobleme*, 147.

[76] So, for example, Beate Kowalski only examines quotations of five words or more ("Transformation of Ezekiel in John's Revelation," in *Transforming Visions: Transformations of Text, Tradition, and Theology in Ezekiel* [ed. William A. Tooman and Michael A. Lyons; PTMS 127; Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2010], 293). Similarly, Jon Paulien has suggested that a "verbal parallel" exists between texts only when they share two or more words (juxtaposed) of "more than minor significance" ("Allusions, Exegetical Method, and the Interpretation of Revelation 8:7–12," Ph.D. diss., Andrews University; Ann Arbor, 1987).

[77] There is a third major methodological issue, which has received little attention in the study of scriptural reuse, i.e., the dimensions of the source text that are evoked by an allusion. Put as a question: if the reader of an allusion is expected to recognize the source text, how *much* of that source text is the reader expected to draw upon to comprehend the text before her? We will return to this issue in chs. 4 and 5 below, where it becomes a pressing issue.

I. What Is a Scriptural Text?

This study purports to examine scriptural reuse in the Gog Oracles. Before establishing criteria for recognizing reuse, though, there must be some discussion of what qualifies as *Scripture*, when there was not yet a canon or Bible. The Hebrew Bible of modern scholarship – certain books, presented in a certain order, according to a certain textual tradition – is a rabbinic concept. This particular Bible became "sacred Scripture" for Judaism and, much later, for Protestant Christianity, because it was believed to be endowed with sacred character. Any attempt to identify the texts which qualify as *Scripture* involves at least two principle issues: the collection of books recognized as Scripture, and the particular text form of those books.[78]

There was still no fixed collection of books, universally recognized in Judaism, by the end of the Second Temple period. This is not to say that notions of sacredness and authority were not yet operative.[79] It is only to say that a fixed canon had not yet received general acceptance. The earliest acknowledgements of a tripartite scriptural collection – similar to the canon of the HB that is widely recognized today – are found in 4QMMT and the Greek translation of Ben Sira.[80] These texts indicate that a tripar-

[78] This is, as all readers can see, a gross oversimplification of the issues involved. I am not even raising issues of community, authorization, degrees of authority, acceptable adaptation, and so on. I sincerely hope that readers will graciously recognize that I am only addressing issues that are necessary for the very limited argument I am making here.

[79] At an early period, the collection and preservation of sacred texts is associated with the temple. If any credence is given to the account in 2 Kgs 22, sacred books were already being stored up in the temple during the monarchic period. According to 2 Macc 2.13–15, Nehemiah reestablished the temple as a repository of sacred texts when he collected "the books about the kings, the writings about the prophets and David, and the royal letters about the offerings." This bears witnesses to the attitude that one of the essential purposes of the temple was to preserve sacred texts. Judas Maccabaeus, like Nehemiah before him, collected "all the books scattered because of the war," *before* rededicating the temple.

[80] 4QMMT (cols. 9–11), the Halakhic Letter, names "the book of Moses" (ספר מושה), "the books of the prophets" (ספרי הנביאים), and "David" (דוד). The translator of Ben Sira (132 B.C.E.) knows the three-fold division "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books," and he assumes the same for his grandfather's day (ca. 190 B.C.E.). To these two early witnesses we could also add The Community Rule (1QS I, 2–3), Midrash Sepher Moshe (4Q249), 2 Macc 2.13–15, and Luke 24.44. Evidence for a tripartite canon before the Common Era is not without dispute. Eugene Ulrich, e.g., has argued against the reconstruction and interpretation of 4QMMT cols. 9–11 in DJD 10 (Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* [DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994], 58–59). He contends that there is no evidence for a tripartite canon before the close of the Second Temple period ("The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT," *CBQ* 65/2 [2003]: 202–14).

tite canon was emerging by the late second and early first centuries B.C.E., but there is no evidence that it was complete, nor is there evidence for how widely accepted it might have been.[81] Any identification of a list of books that qualified as Scripture for the exilic or early Second Temple communities is more or less speculative. In this study I use the term "Scripture" in a deliberately anachronistic way. Here it is used to refer to those books that eventually came to be an accepted part of the Hebrew canon.[82] At the end of the monograph, I will be in a position to draw some conclusions regarding which texts were viewed as authoritative by the author of GO. Only then can the word be used with greater specificity.

This leads us to the issue of text form. Before the Qumran evidence came to light, many text critics assumed that the Bible had a relatively stable text form from the time of writing onward. It is now possible to see that authoritative scriptural texts were passed on from generation to generation in a variety of text forms and editions.[83] In other words, until the text was stabilized for the Jewish community *after* the Second Temple period came to a close, many, if not all, of the text types and editions of a scriptural book were treated with respect and granted authority. In the case of Ezekiel, the book was circulated in (at least) two editions until (at least) the third century C.E.. Text stabilization did not occur until long after the Hebrew canon was closed.[84] This study is focused on GO, which predates

[81] Regarding books recognized as Scripture within the Qumran community, see Armin Lange, "The Status of the Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 21–30.

[82] I will use the terms "Scripture" and "scriptural" for GO's literary sources rather than "Bible" or "biblical." The term "Bible" is even more fraught with connotations of canon and canonicity, denoting a fixed body of supremely authoritative books. "Scripture" acknowledges that the author of GO viewed certain sources as having authority without suggesting anything about the existence of a canon. (See the helpful distinctions in Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4Qpaleo-Exod*^{m} *and the Samaritan Tradition* [HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986] 261–306; and Peter Flint, "Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Evidence from Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* [ed. Shalom Paul, et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 269–304.)

[83] For an example of the profound influence that the Qumran finds have continued to exert on scholarly models of text transmission, compare the article by Shemaryahu Talmon on canon and text stabilization written in 1964 ("Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in Light of Qumran Manuscripts," *Textus* 4 [1964]: 95–132) with his chapter on the same subject from 2002 ("The Crystalization of the 'Canon of Hebrew Scriptures' in the Light of the Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* [ed. E. Herbert and E. Tov; London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002], 5–20).

[84] See, for example, the discussion on pages 77–83.

the finalization of the canon, to say nothing of the crystallization of the book's text form. Text form, or text type, then, will not be considered a germane consideration in identifying scriptural reuse. It will be assumed from the outset that the author of GO had access to and may have reused material from any number of texts and text types.

II. Identifying Scriptural Reuse

Studies of scriptural reuse in Second Temple literature tend to divide reuse into two types: explicit and implicit. Explicit reuse of Scripture is marked by a citation formula or other marker that sets the quotation apart from the context. Though relatively common in Second Temple literature (e.g., pesharim, NT), quotations are extremely rare in the HB.[85] Implicit reuse of Scripture is marked by demonstrable repetition of some element or elements of an antecedent text. An "element" can be a word, phrase, clause, paragraph, topos, or form.[86] The key is that its origin is "demonstrable." There must be some verification that the element originated from an identifiable source.

So, how does one recognize the reuse of some element or section of one text, which presumably bears its own stylistic signature, in a later text? In the first place, it is important to establish what an "element" might be. There are several principles by which deliberate literary borrowing from another text can be recognized: *uniqueness*, *distinctiveness*, *multiplicity*, *thematic correspondence*, and/or *inversion*. Some of these principles apply most readily to discrete locutions, but all of them can be applied to other elements as well, an image or a literary pattern, for example. An argument for reuse is, naturally, most compelling when several of these principles are operative in the same example.

1. Uniqueness

The element in question may be *unique* to a particular source (excepting its reuse). For example, in Ezek 39.21 Yhwh says, "I will set my glory upon the nations (את־כבודי בגוים), and all the nations will see (כל־הגוים וראו) my judgment that I have done . . ." The theme of God's glory seen by the nations is a characteristic of Isaiah 40–66, appearing in verses like: 42.8b, "I am Yhwh, that is my name, my glory (כבודי) I give to no other"; 52.10, "Yhwh has bared his holy arm, before the eyes of all the nations (כל־הגוים),

[85] Among the few cases are Num 21.14, which quotes five poetic lines from "The Book of the Wars of Yhwh," and 2 Sam 1.19–27, which quotes from the equally unknown "The Book of Yashar."

[86] By "form" I do not have in mind an oral *Gattung*. I have in mind a purely literary structure or pattern that is recognizable and could be replicated (see n. 72).

and the ends of the earth will see (וראו) the salvation of our God"; 62.2, "The nations will see (וראו גוים) your vindication, and all the kings your glory (כבודך)"; and 66.19b, "they shall declare my glory among the nations (את־כבודי בגוים)." These are strong markers of literary dependence, but they do not point to a particular context. GO appears, in this case, to be reusing a topos that is distinctive of Deutero-Isaiah, rather than citing a particular text.

2. Distinctiveness

The borrowed element may be distinctive of a particular source, but not exclusive to it. Thus, "distinctive" merely means that the locution, image, or trope in question is associated with a particular antecedent text, though it may appear in other texts as well. By way of example, ב- + ראשית is most distinctive of Gen 1.1, though it does appear in other contexts (Jer 26.1; 27.1; 28.1; 49.34; Hos 9.10). The locution "dwell securely," ישב לבטח, is distinctive of the H code (25.18, 19; 26.5), though it too appears in other texts.[87] The author of GO reused ישב לבטח five times to make sure the reader did not miss the allusion (38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26).[88] The principle of distinctiveness is based on the assumption that the author wanted the reader to recognize the reuse and selected a locution that was evocative of a particular antecedent composition. One must be cautious of these examples and seek supporting evidence which verifies that a particular source is the origin of the allusion.

3. Multiplicity

Often, several elements of an antecedent source appear in close proximity in the evoking text, making the source easy to identify. *Multiplicity* of the shared elements is a strong indicator of deliberate reuse. Ezekiel 38.10–12, for example, is replete with locutions from Jer 49.30–33, too many to be accidental.

JEREMIAH 49.30–33

"Flee, wander far away, hide in deep places, O inhabitants of Hazor!" – an utterance of Yhwh. For King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon has made a plan against them and formed a purpose against them (חשב עליהם מחשבה). "Rise up, advance against a nation at ease

[87] Apart from H and Ezekiel, the phrase does not appear in any book more than once (Deut 12.10; Judg 18.7; 1 Sam 12.11; 1 Kgs 5.5; Isa 47.8; Jer 32.37; Zeph 2.15; Zech 14.11; Ps 4.9; Prov 3.29).

[88] This is by no means the only reason to suggest that ישב לבטח is an H locution. Another locution from H, אין מחריד, taken from the following verse (Lev 26.6), reappears in conjunction with ישב לבטח in 39.26. These two phrases do not appear in conjunction anywhere in the HB except in H and Ezekiel.

(קומו עלו אל גוי שליו), that dwells securely (יושב לבטח)" – an utterance of Yhwh. They have no gates or bars (לא־דלתים ולא־בריח לו), they live alone. Their camels (גמליהם) shall become booty (לבז), their herds of cattle (מקניהם) a spoil (לשלל). I will scatter to every wind those who have shaven temples, and I will bring calamity against them from every side – an utterance of Yhwh. Hazor shall become a lair of jackals, a perpetual waste (שממה עד־עולם); no one shall live there (לא־ישב שם), nor shall anyone settle in it.

EZEKIEL 38.10–13

Thus says the Lord Yhwh, "It will happen in that day, that things will arise in your heart, and you will consider an evil thought (וחשבת מחשבת רעה). And you will say, 'I will go up against a land (אעלה על ארץ) of settlements. I will come against those at rest (השקטים), those dwelling securely (ישבי לבטח), all of them dwelling without a wall, and they have neither bar nor gates (ובריח ודלתים אין להם), in order to take spoil (לשלל שלל), and in order to collect booty (ולבז בז)'; in order to turn your hand against the desolate places which are inhabited (על חרבות נושבת), and against the people regathered from the nations, who have acquired cattle (מקנה) and goods, inhabitants in the navel of the earth. Sheba, and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, and all her lions, they will say to you, 'Have you come to take spoil (לשלל שלל)? Have you gathered your company to collect booty (ולבז בז); to carry away silver and gold; to take cattle (מקנה) and goods; to take a great spoil?'"

This example will be discussed in detail in chapter five. For the present, it exemplifies the technique of marking an allusion by replicating a large variety of locutions from a source text. Even if a particular shared element is not unique to an antecedent text, it might be used with an unusual meaning or in an unexpected way that is common to the source text and the evoking text.

4. Thematic Correspondence

Second Temple authors also show a remarkable penchant for drawing on texts that share a similar subject, theme, or argument with the text they are composing. Likewise, the author of GO does not generally compare or correlate radically dissimilar texts. In most cases, the allusion is also established by shared locutions, as in the case of Ezek 28.25–26.

25. Thus says Lord Yhwh, "When I gather the house of Israel (בקבצי את בית ישראל) from the peoples (מן העמים) among whom they were scattered, then I will be sanctified among them in the sight of the nations (ונקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים). And they will dwell upon their land (וישבו על אדמתם) that I gave to my servant Jacob (יעקב). 26. And they will dwell upon it securely (וישבו עליה לבטח). And they will build houses, and they will plant vineyards, and they will dwell securely (וישבו לבטח). When I have executed judgments (בעשותי שפטים) upon all those despising them round about, then they will know that I am Yhwh their God (אני יהוה אלהיהם)."

Ezekiel 28.25–26 and GO share several themes including: regathering of Israel, peaceful resettlement of the land, and judgment on the nations. The designated locutions, which also appear in GO, are widely distributed

across GO, from 38.8 to 39.28. Thus, the allusion is doubly marked, by shared language and by shared themes.

In some cases, one can observe a whole constellation of thematic correspondences between two texts, so many that the identification of the source text is beyond doubt, even without the appearance of identical language. Psalm 79.1–4, for example, shares an array of themes with GO, which are most apparent in Ezek 39.[89]

> O God, the nations have come into your inheritance;
> they have defiled your holy temple;
> they have laid Jerusalem in ruins.
> They have given the bodies of your servants to the birds of the air for food,
> the flesh of your faithful to the wild animals of the earth.
> They have poured out their blood like water all around Jerusalem,
> and there was no one to bury them.
> We have become a taunt to our neighbors,
> mocked and derided by those around us.

The images here in Ps 79 are also dominant elements of GO: unprovoked invasion, defilement of the land, uninterred corpses, wild animals feasting on human carcasses, and verbal abuse from Gentile nations. Each of these themes appears in other texts as well, but only GO and Ps 79 share this collection of motifs.

5. Inversion

Finally, in rare cases a number of elements in close proximity to one another in one text may be inverted in the borrowing text. *Inversion* of identical or nearly identical elements between two texts is one of the clearest and most reliable markers of reuse.[90] For example, an unidentified supernatural figure appears in Ezek 8.2 to take the prophet on a visionary tour of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The identity of the figure is established by the appearance of four locutions taken from 1.27–28, the vision of the divine presence: כעין חשמל; ממראה מתניו ולמעלה; וממראה מתניו ולמטה; כמראה אש. In 8.2, however, the locutions are inverted, marking the elements as borrowed material.

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[89] Ps 79.1–4 and GO do have many linguistic correspondences, but none (excepting the most common words) are identical in both contexts. See the discussion on pp. 130–31.

[90] This phenomenon, called "Seidel's law," was named for Moshe Seidel, who describes many examples of such inversion between Isaiah and the Psalms ("Parallels between Isaiah and Psalms," *Sinai* 38 [1955–56]: 149–72, 229–40, 271–80, 335–55 [Hebrew]). Seidel's law, though helpful for identifying reuse, does not establish which text is the source.

	Ezek 1.27–28a	Ezek 8.2
A:	like the appearance of amber כעין חשמל	D': like the appearance of fire כמראה אש
B:	from the appearance of his loins and upward ממראה מתניו ולמעלה	C': from the appearance of his loins and downward ממראה מתניו ולמטה
C:	from the appearance of his loins and downward וממראה מתניו ולמטה	B': from his loins and upward ממתניו ולמעלה
D:	like the appearance of fire כמראה אש	A': like the appearance of amber כעין החשמלה

The parallel locutions, repeated in the inverse, demonstrate that the author is attempting to draw the reader's attention back to 1.27–28b, identifying the figure in 8.2 with the divine figure in the inaugural vision.[91]

In this study, it will be asserted that GO is "reusing" an antecedent text only when one or more of the principles of *uniqueness*, *distinctiveness*, *multiplicity*, *thematic correspondence*, and *inversion* is demonstrable. Obviously, the rarer the elements, the more dense the reused elements, the more unique the use of elements, and the more overlap in the themes of the two texts, the more compelling the argument is for intentional reuse.

Regarding the reuse of specific locutions, it should be stressed at this point that function (semantics) is not, as far as I can determine, relevant in determining reuse. That is to say, the meaning of a locution in its original literary context and the meaning of that same locution in the new text need not correspond in any way.[92] The authors and redactors of the HB forged connections between texts by means of identical or similar graphemes, regardless of their function(s) within a particular literary context.[93]

III. Determining Direction of Dependence

Once a connection between two texts is identified, how do critics determine which text is the evoking text and which is the source text? Direction

[91] For a more thorough examination of this example and its significance for the message of Ezek 8–11, see William A. Tooman, "Ezekiel's Radical Challenge to Inviolability," *ZAW* 121/4 (2010): 498–514.

[92] Goldberg refers to "functional form," the way a locution or reused locution is used (i.e., functions) within a particular literary context ("Die funktionale Form Midrasch," 202–3).

[93] This focus on graphic signs is an essential element of rabbinic exegesis as well, where arguments based on techniques like metathesis, *atbash*, gematria, *notarikon*, homonyms, and even the shape of letters, are commonplace. See Samely, *Rabbinic Literature*, 85–88, 183–84.

of dependence is often very difficult to determine, as S. R. Driver observed, somewhat pessimistically, two generations ago: "In the case of two similar passages, the difficulty of determining which is the one that is dependent on the other, *when we have no other clue to guide us*, is practically insuperable . . ."[94] The only clear indicators of direction of dependence are references to datable events, chronological formulae, and citation markers. Apart from these, the direction of dependence is often difficult to determine. Nonetheless, there are, on fortunate occasions, clues that can help to establish direction of dependence.[95]

1. Volume of Use

The principles noted above for recognizing reuse are often helpful for establishing direction of dependence. For example, *if a locution (or other element) occurs many times in one text and occurs only once in another text, then, apart from evidence to the contrary, it is more likely that the text with the single occurrence is the borrowing text*. In such a case, the borrowing author uses a locution or image that is easily identifiable with a particular source to mark the allusion. The locution "people go forth" (יצא עם +), for instance, occurs five times in the exodus story (Exod 3.10, 12; 7.4; 11.8; 12.31). Variations on this locution occur another five times in Exodus (6.6; 7.45; 12.17; 20.2; 29.46). The same locution occurs only once in Ezekiel (38.8). Setting aside other considerations for the sake of the example, it is far more likely that GO borrowed the term from Exodus than vice versa.

Caution must be used when applying this criterion, because in certain cases the inverse is true. *An author may reuse a distinctive element from an antecedent text many times within the target text, in an effort to draw readers' attention to the source*. Georg Braulik, for example, has argued this case regarding the modifier "the Moabitess" in the phrase "Ruth *the Moabitess.*" Unnecessary after the first occurrence, the phrase appears five times in the book of Ruth (1.22; 2.2, 21; 4.5, 10 [cf. 2.6]).[96] The repetition serves, along with other markers, as a link back to Deut 23.3–9.[97] As a

[94] Samuel R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th ed. (ITL; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1913), 383 (italics original).

[95] For more on direction of dependence see the excellent examples and discussion in M. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 59–66.

[96] Braulik, "The Book of Ruth as Intra-Biblical Critique on the Deuteronomic Law," *Acta Theologica* 19 (1999): 1–20.

[97] A link between Ruth and Deut 23.3–9 was recognized in antiquity, as can be seen in the expansions to the Targum at Ruth 2.10b: "I am of a foreign people, of the daughters of Moab, of a people who have not the right to intermarry with the congregation of the Lord."

more immediate example, it will be observed in the next chapter that Ezekiel often reuses H locutions with greater frequency than the H code originally used them

2. Modification

The borrowing text may modify the borrowed material to align it with its own distinctive language, ideas, or arguments. For example, in Ezek 38.4a Yhwh threatens Gog that, "I will turn you around and put hooks into your jaws . . ." The notion of God forcibly leading an enemy about by a hook is found in 2 Kgs 19.28 (= Isa 37.29). In both texts, God uses a "hook," חח, to "turn," שוב, his prisoner where he wishes. In other words, the picture in GO is entirely congruent with 2 Kgs 19.28 (= Isa 37.29). The author of GO, however, adapted the language of 2 Kings to make it correspond more closely with Ezekiel's style. In 2 Kgs 19.28, God put his hook in Sennacherib's "nose," חחי באפך, and his bit in Sennacherib's mouth, שפה. GO alters this to "hooks in the jaw," חחיים בלחייך, an Ezekielian expression found in 29.4–5. This change suggests that GO borrowed from 2 Kings (or Isaiah) and not vice versa.[98]

3. Integration

The borrowed material may be imperfectly used or imperfectly integrated with the new context. Dangling pronouns may appear, poetic images may appear without identifiable referent, syntax may be disrupted, and so forth. The expression דבר ודם, found in Ezek 5.17, 14.19 and 28.23, is a hendiadys meaning "bleeding pestilence."[99] When the phrase was reused in the list of judgments in 38.21–22, the writer did not recognize the hendiadys. Ezekiel 38.22a reads, "I will judge him *with* pestilence and *with* blood." The appearance of the preposition -ב before each element of the phrase is telling. Prepositions precede the nouns or phrases that they govern. In the case of lists, the preposition is repeated before each complement that it governs.[100] The author of GO chose to repeat -ב before דם, breaking up the complement, and inadvertently signaling that דבר and דם were understood as separate items in the list.

[98] For further discussion of this example see pp. 68–69.

[99] See William A. Tooman, "On the Meaning of דבר ודם in Ezekiel," *VT* 60/4 (2010): 666–68; and pp. 70–71 below.

[100] E.g., in Gen 12.1 the preposition מן is repeated before each complement that it governs: לך לך מארצך וממולדתך ומבית אביך, "Go *from* your land and *from* your birthplace, and *from* your father's house." See Joüon §132g; *BHRG* §32

4. Conceptual Dependence

The borrowing text may be conceptually dependent upon the antecedent text. In such cases, the meaning or implications of the new text may be indecipherable, unless the reader recognizes the reuse and supplies certain information from the source text. So, for example, in Ezek 38.19b–20a Yhwh announces: "Surely in that day there will be a great shaking against the land of Israel, and they will quake before me: the fishes of the sea, the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, and all creepers that creep upon the earth, and all the people who are upon the face of the earth." The sequence of living things in 38.20a – fishes (דג), flying things (עוף), beasts of the field (חית השדה), creepers (רמש), and humans (אדם) – is only found in Gen 1.26–28. By evoking the creation story, the author casts God's rage against Gog in inflated terms. When the creator God unleashes his wrath against his creation, it spills over and threatens cosmic collapse. The allusion to Gen 1 evokes the qualities of God as creator and significantly widens the repercussions of Gog's actions.

5. Known Scribal Practices of Reuse

David Carr produced an exceptionally clear and cogent discussion of the criteria for establishing direction of dependence between texts, based on clear-cut cases from Second Temple literature: 4QpaleoExod^{m}, the Samaritan Pentateuch, 4QReworked Pentateuch (4QRP), and the Temple Scroll (11QT). In it, he reached the following conclusions:

A text tends to be later than its "parallel" when it:
1. Verbally parallels that text and yet includes substantial pluses vis-à-vis that text.
2. Appears to enrich its parallel (fairly fully preserved) with fragments from various locations in the Bible (less completely preserved).
3. Includes a plus that fills what could have been perceived as an apparent gap in its parallel.
4. Included expansive material in character speeches, particularly theophanic speech.
5. Has an element which appears to be an adaptation of an element in the other text to shifting circumstances/ideas.
6. Combines linguistic phenomena from disparate strata . . .[101]

[101] David Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34,11–26 and its Parallels," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai. Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10* (ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2001), 126. Molly Zahn has experimented with this same set of criteria in Exod 13 with positive results ("Reexamining Empirical Models: The Case of Exodus 13," in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk* [ed. Eckhart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004], 36–55).

These criteria are, of course, drawn exclusively from literature originating in the latest periods in which biblical texts were being written. Still, as we will see in the next chapter, they are surprisingly "on the mark" for GO. As a result, at the end of this study I will refer back to these criteria. Only at that point will I reflect upon the historical and social context in which GO was composed.

It must be stated that empirical criteria like these can serve as guidelines, but the evidence should not be uncritically subjected to them. As with any tool, a great deal depends upon the user. Nonetheless, the critic is on firmer footing to begin with empirically assured phenomena rather than to argue for a "wholly intuitive approach."[102]

D. Design of This Study

GO's reuse of antecedent Scripture is key to its purpose and meaning. The pattern of continuous allusion in GO reflects something more than a writer saturated with scriptural idiom. It is a practice of disciplined and deliberate reference to select texts on select themes. The author of GO made liberal use of many types of material, including specific written sources, literary topoi, traditions, and genre conventions. Recognizing the volume and density of scriptural reuse in GO is indispensible for understanding its role in the book, its composition, and its place within the phylogeny of Second Temple literature.[103] If we posit, for the sake of argument, that GO was one of the last additions to the book (as is argued in chs. 2 and 3), the density of reused scriptural elements in GO present the interpreter with a number of questions regarding the strategy of their author. What parts of the HB does the author of GO draw upon and why? How does the presence of this material change the argument of the book? What did the author of GO consider to be lacking from the book, which required supplementa-

[102] Carr, "Method," 126.

[103] The only book length studies on Ezekiel's use of antecedent Scripture, with the exceptions of Lyons (*Law to Prophecy*) and Anja Klein (*im Ezechielbuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39* [BZAW *Schriftauslegung* 391; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), are dedicated to the task of dating all or parts of the book vis-á-vis other portions of the Tanak. See, e.g., Millar Burrows, *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1925); John W. Miller, *Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955); Dieter Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja: Berührungen in der Heilserwartung der beiden großen Exilspropheten* (BZAW 121; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971); Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Code and the Book of Ezekiel* (CahRB 20; Paris, 1982); Risa Kohn, *A New Heart and a New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile, and the Torah* (JSOTSup 358; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2002).

tion? How was the new composition executed? At what point in the history of the book was GO inserted? These questions, and others like them, direct the focus of this study.

In Ezekiel scholarship, it is often argued that GO is fully concordant with the style of Ezekiel. In the second chapter, then, I begin with a close examination of the evidence for "Ezekielian style" in GO. In the process, I argue that there is, in fact, great consistency of style and expression between Ezekiel and GO. However, it will also be shown that certain choices of vocabulary and uses of Ezekiel's language indicate that the linguistic and compositional similarities between GO and Ezekiel are due to an effort on the part of GO's author to mimic the book's idiolect, an effort which is only partly successful.[104] Thus, I also examine supporting evidence that GO was composed as a discrete block of text, beginning in 38.1 and concluding in 39.29, which was inserted into the book of Ezekiel.

The third chapter expands upon the second. In it, I examine locutions in GO that have been borrowed from portions of the Torah and Prophets. In the end, I contend that the consistent compositional profile of GO, in particular the way it is constructed from bits and pieces of antecedent texts, supports the conclusion that GO is a unified composition, the product of a single hand. Further, it will be argued that the volume of material in GO that is borrowed from across the Tanak and the recombination of that material identifies GO as pastiche, the only pure example of such a text within the HB.

In the fourth and fifth chapters, I turn my attention to the content of GO, the uses to which the author put all these textual building blocks. I explore all the texts that are deliberately reused in GO, whether that text is a whole chapter or a single phrase. Further, I explore the varieties of textual reuse in GO, not just reused locutions, but images, themes, and literary structures. Each structural layer of GO, large and small, will be examined. I begin with those texts that exerted the widest influence on GO (*Vorbilder*), giving form to the whole composition (ch. 4). I then examine GO pericope-by-pericope, uncovering and describing all of its types of literary reuse (ch. 5).

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[104] When I suggest that an author has an idiolect, I am not suggesting that an individual can have a private language, freighting words and phrases with unique meanings. That notion was demolished by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his *Philosophical Investigations* 3d ed (trans. Gertrud E. M. Anscombe; New York: Prentice Hall, 1973 [German original 1953]; see, more briefly, David Foster Wallace, "Authority and American Usage" in *Consider the Lobster and Other Essays* [New York, Boston, London: Little Brown, 2006], 66–127). Idiolect refers, in part, to the vocabulary choices that authors are prone to make and, in part, to the semantic values that they use those words to convey, values which must already be acceptable within a broader cultural community.

The concerns and approach of the author of the GO resulted in a creative expansion of the prophetic tradition. Drawing upon the evidence uncovered in the first five chapters, I turn in chapter six to an examination of the methods, effects, and motives that inspired the oracles' author. The chapter begins with an investigation of the methods by which the author of GO recombined borrowed literary material to construct his new composition. I then examine other authentic examples of pastiche from the Second Temple period as models for comparison, before I outline a typology of exegetical operations undertaken by the author in the creation of GO. I then turn my attention to the effects of GO on the book of Ezekiel as a whole, its introduction of new ideas and topics into the book, and its adjustment of ideas that are already present therein. Finally, I speculate about motives, concluding that the author of GO was motivated to supplement Ezekiel in an effort to harmonize the book with a wider body of traditional religious literature, literature found in today's canon within the Torah, Prophets and Psalms. The author clearly accepted this literature as authoritative and assumed that this body of literature was coherent, concordant, and relevant.

All this is carried out with an eye toward what it reveals about the author's particular religious outlook and social-historical context. In the conclusion to the book, I conclude that the author of GO was an individual who worked in the late Persian or early Hellenistic periods. However, due to the author's chosen compositional technique (pastiche), this person cannot be positively identified with a particular social or religious group. Clearly the author was a scribe. Whether priestly or lay remains a mystery.

Chapter 2

The Reuse of Ezekiel in the Gog Oracles

In this chapter, the linguistic features of GO that reflect the stylistic stamp of Ezekiel[1] – its distinctively Ezekielian formulae and vocabulary – will be examined to establish whether GO is original to the book, a supplement to it, or some mixture thereof.[2] In historical criticism, the stylistic criterion is famously ephemeral. When used in biblical criticism, it refers to the search for distinctive sets of formulae, vocabulary, tropes, topoi, and compositional techniques, which can be used as a gauge for identifying the work of specific authors, redactors, or "schools." A consistent pattern of these elements is considered a recognizable "style." The stylistic criterion is a widely used historical-critical tool because style is pervasive, an omnipresent literary fingerprint. Features of an author's or school's style, though, are often in the eye of the beholder. The history of criticism is littered with stylistic arguments that have proven, ultimately, inconclusive.[3]

Stylistic arguments are, perhaps, best known from the source-critical study of the Pentateuch. In pentateuchal criticism, the stylistic criterion is predicated on the assumption that the Torah's redactors did not freely re-

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[1] At this point, I am avoiding any comment about the extent and shape of this "book of Ezekiel" that existed before the addition of GO. I will return to this topic below at the beginning of ch. 5.

[2] Most studies of GO have focused on topoi and traditions rather than reused phrases and clauses as such. See, e.g., Ahroni, "The Gog Prophecy," 1–27; Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 84–121; Gillis Gerleman, "Hesekielbokens Gog," *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 12 (1947): 148–62; Fitzpatrick, *Disarmament*, 49–73; John L. Myres, "Gog and the Danger from the North in Ezekiel," *PEQ* 64 (1932): 213–19. One notable exception is Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Priesthood and the Protoapocalyptic Reading of Prophetic and Pentateuchal Texts," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning* (ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: Continuum, 2003), 167–78.

[3] One thinks of Richard Coggins's famous charge of "pan-deuteronomism" in biblical studies. As Coggins pointed out, "the Deuteronomists," who are identified by style and ideology, "have sometimes been praised or blamed for vir-tually every significant element within ancient Israel's religious practice" ("Prophecy – True and False," in *Of Prophet's Visions and the Wisdom of Sages. Festschrift for R. N. Whybray* [ed. H. A. McKay and D. J. A. Clines; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 80–94; see also, "What Does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean?" in *Words Remembered Texts Renewed: Essays in Honor of John F. A. Sawyer* (ed. J. Davis, G. Harvey, and W. G. E. Watson; JSOTSup 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], 135–48).

write their sources, but strove to combine them, as much as possible, just as they found them. Redactors only made the most essential changes, changes necessary for textual cohesion and comprehension. Thus, the vocabulary, formulae and style of two or three sources may be preserved side-by-side, rendering judgments about which is most "original" or "basic" or "ancient" fraught with ambiguity.[4]

The stylistic argument has an entirely different hue in texts that are *supplemented* not *conflated*. In a conflate text, portions of two or more sources are combined to produce a single larger text, as is often argued for texts like Gen 7–9 and Exod 14. In a supplemented text, the redactor adds a segment of text into a preexisting, cohesive work. In such cases, the redactor has a choice: add the new piece without adapting it to the surrounding context, or tailor the supplement to fit into its new context by mimicking the style of the surrounding material and integrating the supplement with the surrounding syntax. In the latter case, simple observations about style are not enough to recognize the supplement. The suspected supplement text's choice and usage of language must be examined for its consistency with the larger composition.

In this chapter I undertake a close examination of the Ezekielian style of GO. In the process, the following three-part argument will be offered:

1. There is consistency of style and expression between Ezekiel and GO.
2. Nonetheless, certain vocabulary choices and uses of language indicate that the author of GO should not be identified with the prophet Ezekiel or his immediate "school."
3. There is a great deal of supporting evidence that GO was composed as a discrete block of text, beginning in 38.1 and concluding in 39.29, and inserted into the book of Ezekiel.

A. Similarities between the Gog Oracles and Ezekiel

I. Ezekielian Locutions

There is, without doubt, remarkable consistency in the style and expression of GO and Ezekiel. GO uses many of Ezekiel's stereotyped formulae and many of Ezekiel's unique locutions and idioms. This is often taken as proof that GO was composed by Ezekiel or a close circle of disciples or priests. Stephen Cook exemplifies this position. "Examination of Ezekiel 38–39 leaves little doubt that it is from this Ezekielian circle of Zadokite priests . . . numerous linguistic usages and idioms link the Ezekiel 38–39

[4] E.g., William J. Martin, *Stylistic Criteria and the Analysis of the Pentateuch* (London: Tyndale, 1955).

passage to the rest of the book of Ezekiel."[5] Cook is by no means alone in this conclusion. Marvin Sweeney concurs: "Cook correctly maintains that these chapters must be read as part of the Ezekiel tradition, rather than as a later insertion, and that they express Zadokite language and perspectives."[6]

1. Formulaic Language

To begin with, GO makes use of a great deal Ezekiel's formulaic language, even replicating formulaic expressions found only in Ezekiel. These formulae stamp the individual oracles with Ezekiel's signature, as the following list shows.

1. ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר, *"and the word of Yhwh came to me saying."* The prophetic word formula opens GO (38.1) and appears nearly forty times in the book.
2. בן אדם, *"son of man."* One of the most distinctive elements of Ezekiel, this form of address is used for the prophet ninety-four times in the book, including four occurrences in GO (38.2, 14; 39.1, 17).
3. שים פניך אל-/על-, *"set your face against."* This formula is used in Ezekiel's judgment oracles to indicate hostile intent (6.2; 13.17; 21.2, 7; 25.2; 28.21; 29.2; 35.2; 38.2; 40.4; 44.5). Although this formula is well represented in ancient Near Eastern literature, this permutation of the formula is unknown in the HB outside of Ezekiel.[7]
4. הנבא אל-/על-, *"prophesy against"* (*niphal* impv.). While quite common in Ezekiel (6.2; 13.17; 21.2, 7; 25.2; 28.21; 29.2; 35.2; 38.2; 39.1), this formula is only found outside of Ezekiel in Amos 7.15.
5. כה אמר אדני יהוה, *"thus says the Lord Yhwh."* This speech formula, the messenger formula, occurs 132 times in the HB. Of these occurrences, 122 are found in Ezekiel, including seven in GO (38.3, 10, 14, 17; 39.1, 17, 25).
6. הנני אל-/על-, *"behold I am against . . ."* A common expression for divine hostility in Ezekiel (5.8; 13.8; 21.8; 26.3; 28.22; 29.3, 10; 35.3; 36.9; 38.3; 39.1), this formula, which bears the improbable title "challenge to a duel formula," only appears eight times outside of the book (Jer 21.13; 23.30, 31, 32; 50.31; 51.25; Nah 2.14; 3.5).[8]

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[5] Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 98

[6] Sweeney, "The Priesthood and the Protoapocalyptic," 170.

[7] Scott Layton, "Biblical Hebrew 'to set the face' in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic," *UF* 17 (1986): 169–81; also, Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 302. Outside of Ezekiel, this expression is used in three dominant ways: pronoun + פנה + שים, "set before (someone)" (e.g., Gen 24.33; Exod 21.1; 1 Sam 9.24), ל-/ב- + פנה + שים, "set face against/toward" (e.g., Jer 21.10; 42.15; 44.10), or פנה + שים, "determine, decide" (e.g., Jer 42.15; 44.12).

[8] See comments by Walther Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel Chapters 1–24* [Hermeneia; trans. Ronald E. Clements; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979],

7. נאם אדני יהוה, *"an utterance of Lord Yhwh."* Variations on נאם plus the divine name, the prophetic utterance formula or signatory formula, are common in the books of the exilic prophets Jeremiah (170 times) and Ezekiel (85 times), including Ezek 38.18, 21; 39.5, 8, 10, 13, 20, 29. In eighty-three of Ezekiel's eighty-five cases, we find the long form יהוה אדני נאם, whereas most biblical authors prefer the shorter form נאם יהוה. Outside of Ezekiel, the long form is only found in Isa 3.15; 56.8; Jer 2.19, 22; 49.5; 50.31; Amos 3.13; 4.5; and 8.3. In Ezekiel, the formula is used most often to mark the close of an oracle or a section of an oracle. It is used in the same way in GO.
8. הנבא + ואמרת, *"prophesy* (*niphal* impv.) *and say* (*qal* pf. consec.)*."* The commissioning formula is a stock element of Ezekiel's prophetic diction (e.g., 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.9, 12; 38.2–3, 14; 39.1). The *niphal* imperative (הנבא), as a Commissioning Formula, only appears outside Ezekiel in Amos 7.15, where it lacks the complementary *qal* with imperatival force (אמ״ר).
9. (אלהים) אני יהוה, *"I am Yhwh (God)."* Variations on the recognition formula are very common in Ezekiel, occurring seventy-eight times. Most common is the expression בי־אני יהוה + יד״ע (69 times). Five of these appear in GO (38.23; 39.6, 7, 22, 28).[9]
10. אני (יהוה) דברתי, *"I (Yhwh) have spoken."* Aptly named, the "concluding formula" appears at the end of sixteen divine speeches in the book, including its appearance in 39.5, 8 (without אני). It is rare outside of Ezekiel (see Isa 48.15; Jer 35.14).

These formulae, found extensively throughout Ezekiel, are either unique to the book or staples of its idiolect. They mark the beginnings and endings of oracular units, or they mark transitions within them. They are used in the same ways in GO, giving structure to the whole unit. In short, GO's use of prophetic formulae is consistent with their use in the rest of Ezekiel.[10]

2. Unique and Distinctive Language

a. Unique Language

The similarities in language between Ezekiel and GO are, by no means, limited to formulae. GO makes use of many locutions that are entirely

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175), Ronald M. Hals (*Ezekiel* [FOTL 19; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 359), and Paul Humbert ("Die Herausforderungsformel »hinnenî êlékâ«," *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 101–8).

[9] See the comments by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 26–27.

[10] For more on the use of formulae to structure Ezekiel's oracles of judgment and deliverance see von Rabeneau, "Die Entstehung des Buches Ezechiel," 659–94. For my own assessment of how these formulae structure GO, see the discussion at the beginning of ch. 5.

unique to the book of Ezekiel. The following is an exhaustive list of uniquely Ezekielian locutions that are also found in GO.[11]

1. משך (ו)תבל, *"Meshek and Tubal"* (27.13 [constituents inverted]; 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1). Though these names are known individually outside of Ezekiel, the fixed combination "Meshek and Tubal" (or "Tubal and Meshek") is a distinctive trait of Ezekiel's oracles against the nations, appearing in the Tyre oracles, Egypt oracles, and GO. In addition, Meshek is known as a geographical name only from Ezekiel.
2. ונתתי חחים בלחייך, *"and I will put hooks in your jaws"* (29.4; 38.4 [cf. 19.4, 9]). This image is used to describe the capture of Pharaoh, depicted as a crocodile, in 29.4.[12] A related image ("hook" without "jaw") appears in 19.4, 9 to describe the capture of the Judean kings, Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin. Elsewhere, the image of a hook in the nose (אף) is used to express God's control of Sennacherib (2 Kgs 19.28 = Isa 37.29).
3. סוסים + פרשים, *"horses and riders"* (23.6, 12; 38.4). This coordinate pair is unique to Ezek 38.4. The two constituents usually appear individually, or, in the case of פרש, in the construction רכב + פרש (Gen 50.9; Exod 14.9, 17, 18, 23, 26, 28; 15. 19; Josh 24.6; 1 Sam 13.5; 2 Sam 1.6; 10.18; 1 Kgs 1.5; 9.22; 10.26; 2 Kgs 2.12; 13.7, 14; 18.24; Isa 21.7, 9; 22. 6, 7; Ezek 26.7, 10; Dan 11.40; 1 Chr 18.4; 19.6; 2 Chr 1.14; 8.9; 16.8). In Ezek 23.6 and 12 the usual expression, רכב ופרשים, is conflated with סוס to produce the unexpected phrase פרשים רכבי סוסים. Ezekiel 38.4 appears to be a truncated version of the locution in 23.6, 12.
4. לבשי מכלול, *"clothed perfectly"* (23.12; 38.4). Not only is Ezekiel the only biblical book to use this locution, it is the only book to spell adjectival כלל with a preformative -מ. (Compare כליל in Exod 28.31; 39.22; Num 4.6; Isa 2.18; Ezek 16.14; 27.3; 28.12; Lam 2.15)
5. קהל רב/גדול, *"great company"* (17.17; 38.4, 15 [cf. 32.3, בקהל עמים רבים]). Across the HB, קהל רב is typically used for the "great congregation" of Israel (Pss 22.26; 35.18; 40.10, 11; Ezra 10.1) and is synonymous with קהל גדול (1 Kgs 8.65; 2 Chr 7.8).[13] GO also uses these phrases as synonyms, but it uses them for a military host. See below for קהל alone.
6. חרב + תפש, *"grasping swords"* (21.16; 30.21; 38.4). This unique Ezekielian expression is employed when describing an armed host.
7. מגן + בובע, *"shield and helmet"* (27.10; 38.5). This combination is also unique to Ezekiel's martial vocabulary.

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[11] This list excludes formulae that are unique to Ezekiel.

[12] Ezek 29.4 reads חחיים (Kethib) and חחים (Qere).

[13] Only Jeremiah uses קהל גדול in the generic sense of "crowd" (31.8; 44.15; cf. 50.9).

8. כל אגף, *"all (his/her/your) hordes"* (12.14; 17.21; 38.6 [bis], 9, 22 [על אגפיו]; 39.4). The term אגף is only found in Ezekiel, and it always appears in the stock construction כל אגף + pronoun, "all his/her/your hordes" (excepting the exchange of כל for על in 38.22).[14]
9. ימים + שנים, *"days"* + *"years"* as parallel terms (22.4; 38.8, 17). The use of ימים for an unspecified period of time is commonplace in the HB (e.g., Isa 39.6; Hos 2.15; Amos 4.2). Ezekiel is the only book to specify when an undisclosed period of days will stretch into years.[15] Contrast the early BH use of ימים for "years" (e.g., 1 Sam 1.21; 27.7) or מימים ימימה for "annually" (e.g., Exod 13.10).
10. הרי ישראל, *"mountains of Israel"* (6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17). This is one of Ezekiel's preferred designations for the land (the other is אדמת ישראל). It is used in place of ארץ ישראל because הרים serves as a reminder of the principal reason for the exile: namely, pagan worship upon the mountains. See especially Ezek 6.1–14 where the phrase is introduced.
11. יושבי חרבות or חרבות נושבות, *"inhabitants of ruins"* or *"inhabited ruins"* (33.24 [27]; 38.12). Ezekiel and Jeremiah are both fond of the term חרבה/חרבות. Both books use the term with a general sense, a "wasteland" (Jer 7.34; 25.9; Ezek 5.14), and a more specific sense, a "ruin" (Jer 22.5; Ezek 33.24, 27). In chapter 33 of Ezekiel, the survivors of the disaster of 587 B.C.E. are living in the ruined dwellings of the land (33.24, 27), an image taken up in GO and reapplied to the returnees from exile (38.12).[16]
12. סחרים + תרשיש, *"merchants of Tarshish"* (27.12 [16, 18, 21, 36]; 38.13). When referring to the merchants of Tarshish, the HB typically uses the personification "ship(s) of Tarshish" (see 1 Kgs 10.22; 22.49; Isa 2.16; 23.1, 14; 60.9; Ps 48.8; 2 Chr 9.21; 20.36). The only exception to this is Ezekiel, who prefers "merchants," סחרים, and uses that term on all but one occasion (27.25).[17]
13. קדש לעיני גוים (first-person reflexive), *"show myself holy before you/them in the eyes of the nations"* (20.41; 28.25; 38.16 [without גוים], 23; 39.27). This is a unique Ezekielian expression that represents an inversion on the H expression, חלל שם קדשי (Lev 20.3; 22.2, 32; Ezek 20.39; 22.16; 36.20–23; 39.7; Amos 2.7). It combines elements of two

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[14] See the discussion in Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 302) and Hossfeld (*Untersuchungen*, 439).

[15] See the comments by Hossfeld on the connection between עת, שנים, and ימים (*Untersuchungen*, 115).

[16] For חרבה BDB offers "ruin" or more generally "desolation." *HALOT* restricts its meaning to "site of ruins" in all cases (so also Jastrow).

[17] Note also the combination of "merchant," סחר, and "ship," אניה, in Prov 31.14.

other common locutions in a new formulation. God often speaks of manifesting his holiness using first-person reflexive verbs of קדש, most often in Ezekiel and Chronicles.[18] The prepositional phrase לעיני, "before the eyes of," appears most commonly in the formulation "bring forth (from Egypt) in the eyes of the nations" (Lev 26.45; Ezek 5.8; 20.9, 14, 22). In Ezekiel, this is often combined with the H notion of profaning God's name, as in Ezek 20.9: "I acted for the sake of my name, that it should not be profaned in the sight of the nations among whom they lived, in whose sight I made myself known to them in bringing them out of the land of Egypt" (cf. 20.26).[19] The recombination of elements in this locution is found only in Ezekiel.

14. נביאי ישראל, "*prophets of Israel"* (13.2, 16; cf. 13.4; 38.17). In 38.17 God asks, rhetorically, "Are you not he of whom I spoke by the hand of my servants, the *prophets of Israel*?" The construct phrase "of Israel" seems an odd qualifier in this context. Surely there are no pagan prophets, who qualify as "my servants" (see #11, pp. 98–99 below). The phrase נביאי ישראל is unique to Ezekiel. It appears in chapter 13, Ezekiel's oracle against the prophets of Israel. In that context he repeatedly stipulates that his oracle is targeting false and treacherous *Israelite* prophets, not foreign or pagan prophets.
15. אדמת ישראל, *"land of Israel"* (7.2; 11.17; 12.19, 22; 13.9; 18.2; 20.38, 42; 21.7, 8; 25.3, 6; 33.24; 36.6; 37.12; 38.18, 19). This locution (equivalent to ארץ ישראל) is entirely unique to Ezekiel. It appears seventeen times in Ezekiel. Ezekiel also uses אדמה, without ישראל, for the land on ten occasions (28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20; 39.26, 28).
16. בקנאתי דברתי, *"I spoke in my jealousy"* (5.13; 36.5, 6; 38.19). Within the HB, God speaks in "anger" (e.g., אף, חמה), but only Ezekiel describes God speaking in "jealousy." The expression is consistent with the description of the covenant as a marriage in chapters 16 and 23. Moreover, Ezek 36.5 and 38.19 both use באש, "in fire," in conjunction with קנאה as a metaphor for God's anger (see next entry).
17. באש עברתי, *"in the fire of my fury"* (21.36; 22.21, 31; 38.19; see 7.19 for עברה alone). This expression for anger burning like fire is unique to Ezekiel. Similar expressions include Deut 32.22 and Jer 15.14 (אף +

[18] See Exod 19.72; 29.43; Lev 10.3; 11.44; 22.32; Num 11.18; 20.13; Josh 3.5; 7.13; 1 Sam 16.5; 2 Sam 11.4; Isa 5.16; 30.29; 66.17; Ezek 20.41; 28.22, 25; 36.23; 38.16, 23; 39.27; 1 Chr 15.12, 14; 2 Chr 5.11; 29.5, 34; 30.3, 15, 17, 24; 31.18; 35.6.

[19] The only other cases of someone/something being revealed to the nations are found in Isa 52.10 (arm of the Lord revealed to nations), Ps 98.2 (God's vindication revealed to nations), and 2 Chr 32.23 (Hezekiah's greatness revealed to nations).

אש); Zeph 1.18; 3.8; and Ps 79.5 (קנאה + אש).[20] Ezekiel 38.19 is a combination of all the elements in #16 and #17: דבר, קנאה, אש, and עברה.

18. דבר ודם, *"bleeding pestilence"* (5.17; 14.19; 28.23; 38.22; cf. 33.27). This unique Ezekielian phrase is typically translated "pestilence and bloodshed" (e.g., NRSV, NJPS). It is, in fact, a hendiadys, "bleeding pestilence" (see discussion on pp. 70–71).
19. גשם שוטף, *"overflowing rain"* (13.11, 13; 38.22). There are a number of ways that BH describes abundant or torrential rain. These include חמון (1 Kgs 18.41), גדול (1 Kgs 18.45), נדבות (Ps 68.10), עוז (Job 37.6), and גשמים (Ezra 10.9). Only Ezekiel uses שוטף with גשם.
20. אבני אלגביש, *"stones of hail"* (13.11, 13; 38.22). Only Ezekiel uses אלגביש. Elsewhere in the HB we find ברד for "hail" (Exod 9.18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34; 10.5, 12, 15; Josh 10.11; Isa 28.2, 17; 30.30; Hag 2.17; Pss 18.13, 14; 78.47, 48; 105.32; 148.8; Job 38.22), a term that never appears in Ezekiel.
21. נפל על פני השדה, *"fall upon the face of the field"* (29.5; 39.5 [cf. 11.10; 33.27; 39.4]). Another locution that is unique to Ezekiel's oracles against the nations, it is used for the figurative death of Pharaoh in 29.5.
22. ישבי האיים, *"inhabitants of the coastlands"* (27.35; 39.6). This phrase is known only from Ezekiel's oracles against Tyre. The term "coastlands" without "inhabitants" also appears in 26.15, 18; 27.3, 6, 7, 15, and the Aramaic form אין appears in 26.18. Isaiah uses the alternative expression "inhabitants of the coast (sg.)," ישבי אי, for the Phoenicians (Isa 23.2, 6).
23. (נאם אדני יהוה) הנה באה ונהיתה, *"behold, it is coming, and will be done (an utterance of the Lord Yhwh)"* (21.12; 39.8). Announcements (הנה) of the coming (בוא) of the day (יום) or days (ימים) are common in the prophets,[21] but this exact locution, הנה באה ונהיתה, occurs only in these two texts.

These twenty-three locutions are unique to the book of Ezekiel and appear in GO. A genetic relationship clearly exists between Ezekiel and GO. The full scope and nature of that relationship is the subject of the rest of this chapter.

b. Distinctive Language

GO also makes extensive use of locutions that, though not unique to Ezekiel, are distinctive of the book. There is a range of ways to define what a

[20] Ps 78.21 does contain a verb form of עב״ר (HtD) and אש, but they are in separate poetic lines.

[21] Isa 13.9; 39.6; Jer 7.32; 9.24; 16.14; 19.6; 23.5, 7; 30.3; 31.27, 31, 38; 33.14; 48.12; 49.2; 51.47, 52; Ezek 7.10; Amos 4.2; 8.11; 9.13; Zech 14.1; Mal 3.19.

"signature" or "distinctive" expression might be. I use these terms to refer to locutions that are: (1) original to a particular book or corpus, though they might be taken up by other authors (e.g., Ezekiel's reuse of distinctive language from the H corpus); (2) used in unique way within a particular book or corpus;[22] or (3) characteristic of a particular book or corpus. The preponderance of occurrences of the locution are in one book or corpus. For example, the expression "hide the face" is characteristic of Deuteronomy (e.g., 31.17, 18; 32.20), but also appears in Isaiah, GO, and the Psalms. The locutions below, then, do appear in other biblical texts, but they are most common to the book of Ezekiel, or are used in unique ways in Ezekiel. Examples like this include the following:

1. נשיא, *"prince"* (7.27; 12.10, 12; 19.1; 21.17, 30; 22.6; 26.16; 27.21; 30.13; 32.29; 34.24; 37.25; 38.2, 3; 39.1, 18; 44.3; 45.7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22; 46.2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18; 48.21, 22). A favorite term of Ezekiel's, נשיא is a staple of priestly language, appearing fifty-six times in the P corpus and thirty-four times in Ezekiel.[23]
2. קהל (בל), *"(all your/his) host, assembly*" (16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46, 47; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.3, 22, 23; 38.4, 7, 13, 15). The semantics of this term evolves in the HB. In earlier texts, it is typically used for a military contingent, a host or battalion (e.g., Judg 21.5, 8; 1 Sam 17.47). In later texts, the term comes to be used for any assembly, whether military, political, judicial, or cultic (e.g., Num 20.12; Prov 5.14; Ezra 2.64; 10.8, 12, 14; Pss 22.26; 35.18; 40.10, 11). In the book of Ezekiel, קהל is only used for a military host. It is the preferred term for such a host in the book.[24]

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[22] By "used" I have in mind several possibilities. For example, an author may choose to always employ a particular locution with a particular semantic value, though the locution may be used in other books with other meanings. If the text in question is the only one to use a locution with a specific semantic value, it is distinctive of that book. As another example, an author may use a specific locution to convey a particular image or metaphor, though the locution could be taken literally. If the locution is used for that image or metaphor (or whatever) only in the text or corpus in question, I consider it "distinctive" of that text or corpus.

[23] The P narrative seems to conceive of twelve נשיאים subordinate to Moses and Aaron (e.g., Exod 16.22; 34.31; esp. Num 1.16), whereas Ezek 40–48 conceives of a single נשיא (45.7, 16–17; 46.8, 10, 17). The word does appear, on occasion, in older texts also (e.g., Gen 34.2; 1 Kgs 11.34).

[24] There are two ambiguous cases. Ezek 16.40 may mean "(disorganized) mob," and 27.34 may mean "crew (of a fleet of ships)," as opposed to a military formation per se. Ezekiel's use of קהל with a military sense led Fohrer to conclude that it is impossible to set Ezekiel in a "late time frame." Fohrer does not consider the effect of borrowed locutions on literary dating (Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme*, 132).

3. צנה + מגן, *"mantlet and shield"* (23.24; 38.4; 39.9; Jer 46.3; Ps 35.2 [cf. Ezek 26.8]). GO has many resonances with the military language in Ezek 23 and 27, including this pair of terms, which is very rare outside of Ezekiel (see also כובע + מגן above).
4. עמים רבים, "*many peoples"* (3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22). Though by no means unknown outside of Ezekiel, this phrase appears thirteen times in Ezekiel and never more than four times in any other book.[25]
5. קבץ + מן + עמים, *"gathered from the nations"* (11.17; 28.25; 29.13; 38.8). Outside of Ezekiel this locution only appears in Deut 30:3. קבץ is Ezekiel's preferred term for regathering. In addition to the references already given, it appears in Ezekiel in 16.37; 20.34, 41; 22.19, 20; 29.5; 34.13; 36.24; 37.21; 39.17, 27.
6. חרבה, *"ruin"* (5.14; 13.4; 25.13; 26.2, 20; 29.10, 12; 33.24, 27; 35.4; 36.4, 10; 38.8, 12; the verb appears in 6.6; 12.20; 19.7; 26.2, 19; 29.12; 30.7). Though by no means unique to Ezekiel, this is nonetheless a favorite term for describing the destruction of the developed portions of the land following the second deportation. Ezekiel derived the term from the H corpus, where it is even more common, appearing sixteen times in Lev 26.[26]
7. בענן לכסות, *"like a cloud to cover"* (30.18; 32.7; 38.9, 16). This metaphor of Ezekiel's judgment language is used twice in the oracles against Egypt, once to describe the fall of Tehaphnehes (30.18), and once for the death of the Pharaoh (32.7). It is used two more times in GO, but in GO it is a simile: Gog's armies cover the land like a cloud.[27]
8. רכבי סוסים (כלם), *"riders of horses (all of them)"* (23.6, 12, 23; 38.15; Zech 10.5). This is an unusual expression for cavalry or chariotry in the HB. Typical expressions include רכבים ("horsemen"), פרשים ("horsemen/charioteers"), סוסים ופרשים ("horses and riders"), and ורכבים סוסים ("riders and horses"). The construct phrase רכבי סוסים, "riders of horses," occurs only once outside of oracles against foreign nations (including GO) in Zech 10.5.
9. ידעו גוים כי, *"nations will know that . . ."* (26.6; 29.6; 30.26; 36.23, 36, 37; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23; Ps 9.21). The recognition formula, אני יהוה (אלהים), is well known in Ezekiel, occurring, in all its variations, a

[25] The phrase is found most frequently in Joshua (11.4; 17.14, 15, 17) and Isaiah (2.3, 4; 13.4; 17.12).

[26] Other examples include Isa 5 (8x); 44.26; 48.21; 49.19; 51.3; 52.9; 58.12; 61.4; 64.10; Jer 7.34; 22.5; 25.9, 11, 18; 27.17; 44.2, 6, 22; 49.13; Pss 9 (12x); 102.7; 109.10; Job 3.14; Dan 9.2; Ezra 9.9; 2 Chr 34.6.

[27] The locution appears only once outside of Ezekiel, in Num 9.16. There it describes the cloud covering the tabernacle.

total of seventy-eight times in the book.[28] In its fullest form it includes this clause, "*the nations will know that* I am the Lord (God)." On occasion, however, ידעו גוים כי occurs apart from the recognition formula as a stand-alone clause, as it does, for example, in 39.23.

10. בוא על ארץ, *"come against the land"* (14.17; 33.3; 38.16, 18 [with אדמת for ארץ]; Jer 25.9, 13). This clause only appears in Ezekiel and Jeremiah. In Ezekiel it is used for Yhwh bringing a sword against the land (14.17; 33.3). Ezekiel uses a variety of locutions to express this trope, but it is a staple of Ezekiel's judgment language (see, e.g., 6.1–10; 21.1–17). In Jeremiah it is used for Yhwh bringing Nebuchadrezzar against the land (25.9) and again in the same chapter for Yhwh bringing the "word" of his judgments (25.13). In GO it is used, not in an image but literally, for Yhwh summoning Gog and his host to invade Israel (38.16, 18).
11. (verb) עלה + (subject) חמה, *"anger aroused"* (24.8; 38.18). There are many locutions that biblical authors use to describe the emergence of anger (חמה). חמ״ה is paired with verbs like קצף ("bear anger"), יצת ("kindle anger"), היה ("arouse anger"), and גבר ("arouse anger").[29] Ezekiel describes emergent anger with the verb עלה, an expression found only once outside the book of Ezekiel, in 2 Sam 11.20 (cf. 2 Chr 36.16).
12. רעש גדול, *"great quaking"* (3.12, 13[30]; 38.19; Jer 10.22). This locution is found only once outside of Ezekiel. It appears in Jer 10.22 as an image for the ruin brought on Judah by Babylon. In Ezekiel it is used to describe the sound made by God's throne-bearers and the living wheels when the divine presence moves (3.12, 13). In GO the land quakes when God acts against Gog with supernatural judgments (38.17–23).
13. חרב (על הרי ישראל), *"sword (against the mountains of Israel)"* (6.3; 35.8; 38.21; cf. Jer 25.29). The "mountains of Israel" are personified in Ezek 6 as a character deserving God's wrath. God brings a sword against the mountains of Israel in 6.1–3, 11–12, and in chapter 36 the mountains of Israel are then repaired and their population restored (see 36.1, 6, 8).
14. נתתיך לאכלה, *"I gave/will give you as food"* (29.5; 33.27; 35.12; 39.4;[31] Gen 9.3 [cf. Exod 16.15; Ezek 15.4, 6; 34.5, 8; Job 36.31; Pss 104.27;

[28] For details on its various forms and uses see Walther Zimmerli, *Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel: Eine Theologische Studie* (ATANT 27; Zürich: Zwingli, 1954); also I. L. Seeligmann, "Erkenntnis Gottes und historisches Bewußtsein im alten Israel," in *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Herbert Donner; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 414–44.

[29] See, e.g., Lev 26.28; Deut 9.19; 2 Kgs 22.17.

[30] LXX of Ezek 3.13 does not represent גדול.

[31] See discussion in Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 466.

145.15]).[32] This image, common to Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations, pictures God killing an enemy and exposing the corpse for wild animals to devour. It is an inversion of Gen 9.3, where all living things are given to humans as food (חי לכם יהיה לאכלה). Such a death is taboo in the HB, and lends a grim severity to the threatened judgment (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 14.7–11; 16.1–4; 21.19–24; 2 Kgs 9.6–10, 30–37).

15. צפור כל כנף, *"birds of every type"* (17.23; 39.4, 17; Deut 4.17). This is an idiomatic expression of Ezekiel. Apart from Deut 4.17 (cf. Ps 148.10), the HB almost exclusively uses the phrases עוף (כל), "(every) bird," עוף כנף (כל), "(every) winged thing," or עוף השמים (כל), "(all) the birds of the air," to describe all kinds of birds collectively.[33] Despite the graphic similarity to Deut 4.17, the author of GO uses the phrase with Ezekiel's nuance:

   – Deut 4.17 "every flying thing (with) wings," כל צפור כנף
   – Ezek 17.23 "every flying thing, of every type," כל צפור כל כנף
   – Ezek 39.4, 17, "flying things of every type," צפור כל כנף

16. על פני השדה תפול, *"fall upon the face of the field"* (29.5; 39.5 [cf. Jer 9.21; Ezek 32.4; 33.27]). This clause occurs, verbatim, only in Ezek 29.5 and 39.5. Considering the proximity to another locution from Ezek 29.5 (#14), it seems highly likely that Ezek 29.5 is the source of this clause.

17. שם קדשי, *"my holy name"* (20.39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7 [bis], 25; 43.7, 8; Lev 20.3; 22.2, 32; Amos 2.7). This is one of several locutions that Ezekiel derived from the H corpus and utilized more extensively than H did.[34] Alternations on this phrase, in the second and third persons ("your holy name"; "his holy name"), appear in the cult language of Psalms and Chronicles (Pss 33.21; 103.1; 105.3; 106.47; 106.47; 145.21; 1 Chr 16.10, 35; 29.16), but see the next entry.

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[32] In the case of Ezek 15.4, 6, the people are depicted as a useless vine, good only for feeding into a fire. It is the only example of this clause used with this sense, and its only occurrence outside of the oracles against foreign nations. In Ezek 35, the image undergoes an adaptation. There the mountains of Israel are dead, devoid of people and habitation. The Edomites take on the role of carrion animals, come to consume the lifeless land.

[33] Gen 1.21, 26, 28, 30; 2.19, 20; 6.7; 7.3, 8, 14, 23; 8.19, 20; 9.2; Lev 11.46; 17.13; 20.25; Deut 14.11, 19, 20; 28.26; 1 Sam 17.44, 46; 21.10; 1 Kgs 16.4; 21.24; Jer 4.25; 7.33; 9.9; 15.3; 16.4; 19.7; 34.20; Ezek 29.5; 31.6, 13; 32.4; 38.20; Hos 2.20; 4.3; 7.12; Zeph 1.3; Job 12.7; 28.21; 35.11; Pss 50.11; 78.27; 79.2; 104.12; Qoh 10.20. There is a single occurrence of צפור שמים in Ps 8.9.

[34] See the comments by Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 175. Regarding a target text using a borrowed phrase with greater frequency than its source text did, see the comments on "volume of use" on p. 32 above.

18. חלל + שם (קדשי), *"defile + (my holy) name"* (20.9, 14, 22, 39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7; Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; 22.2, 32; Jer 34.16; Amos 2.7). Defiling the name of God is yet another priestly notion that appears most frequently in Leviticus and Ezekiel. Ezekiel characterizes all of Israel's past errors as having defiled God's name "before the nations" (ch. 20) and argues that she has continued to defile his name "among the nations" by her behavior in exile (ch. 36). In the future, after Israel's supernatural inward transformation (11.19–21), she will never again defile God's holy name (20.39; 43.7–8), which he himself will resanctify (39.25).
19. הנה באה, *"behold (it) is coming"* (7.5, 6, 10; 30.9; 33.33; 39.8 [cf. 24.24]; Jer 10.22). This is one of the signatures of Ezekiel's idiolect, used in its announcements of judgment. Outside of the book, it only occurs one time (cf. #24 under "unique language" above).
20. טהר ארץ, *"purify land"* (22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 [cf. 22.3, 26; 36.17–18]; 2 Chr 34.8). The land's purity is a pressing concern in Ezekiel, particularly since God himself defiles the land by killing his own people and leaving their corpses in (pagan) sacred sites (see, e.g., 6.1–10; 7.22; 9.7; 24.21). GO addresses the issue in some detail, because Yhwh's destruction of Gog's army also defiles the land and requires its purification.
21. בית ישראל, *"house of Israel."* This title for the community is one of Ezekiel's favorites, appearing more than sixty times in the book, including five occurrences in GO (39.12, 22, 23, 25, 29). Ezekiel prefers "house of Israel" to the more common "sons of Israel" because it echoes his initial oracle in chapters 2–3, which repeatedly speaks of the "house of Israel," בית ישראל, as a "rebellious house," בית מרי (see esp. 3.4–9).[35]
22. נפל בחרב (כלם), *"fall by the sword (all of them)"* (5.12; 6.12; 11.10; 17.21; 23.25; 24.21; 25.13; 30.5, 6, 17; 32.12, 20, 22, 23, 24; 33.27; 35.8; 39.23). Another of Ezekiel's most common expressions, this clause appears eighteen times in the book's judgment oracles. The same clause does appear twenty times outside of Ezekiel, but it never appears more than four times in any other book.[36]
23. עש״ה + noun(s) or noun clause + -כ, "*as/according to*" + noun or perfect verb + "*I deal/acted/will act*" (7.27; 16.59; 20.44; 35.11, 15; 39.24 [cf. 7.27; 31.11]). This expression is a regular part of God's threat language, occurring in the expressions: "I will deal with you as you have done" (16.59); "I will deal with you . . . not according to your wicked

[35] Compare Daniel I. Block, "Israel's House: Reflections on the Use of בית־ישראל in the Old Testament and in Light of its Ancient Near Eastern Environment," *JETS* 28 (1985): 257–75.

[36] Num 14.3, 43; 2 Sam 1.12; 3.29; 2 Kgs 19.7; Isa 3.25; 13.15; 31.8; 37.7; Jer 19.7; 20.4; 39.18; 44.12; Hos 7.16; 14.1; Amos 7.17; Ps 78.64; Lam 2.21; 2 Chr 29.9; 32.21.

ways and corrupt deeds" (20.44); "I will deal with you according to your anger and envy" (35.11, 15); "I dealt with them according to their impurity and transgressions" (39.24).

24. שוב שבות, *"restore the fortunes"* (16.53 [bis]; 29.14; 39.25). The locution שוב שבות is by no means unique to Ezekiel.[37] It does, however, evoke Ezekiel's oracle of deliverance in 16.53–63. The exact phrase שוב שבות occurs twice in 16.53, and morphological variations on שוב and שבה occur nine times in the span of four verses.[38] This is the largest set of constituents from these terms in the HB. The phrase is also one of the many elements shared by GO and the oracles against Egypt, appearing in 29.14 and 39.25.
25. נשא כלמתך/ם, *"bear your/their shame"* (16.52, 54; 32.24, 25, 30; 36.7; 39.26; 44.13; Ps 69.8 [cf. Ezek 34.29; 36.6, "shame of the nations"]). This is one of Ezekiel's most distinctive themes. Shame is a requisite part of the people's future transformation and restoration. One of the most profound markers of the corruption of Israel, used to justify the exile, is the inability of the people to feel shame for their deeds.
26. קבצתי מארצות, *"I will gather from the lands"* (20.34, 41; 34.13; 36.24; 39.27; Isa 11.12; Jer 23.3; 31.8; 32.37; Zech 10.10; Ps 107.3). This locution is one of Ezekiel's stock ways of describing the regathering of the people. (See discussion on pp. 67–68.)

This is a substantial catalogue of linguistic parallels. Taken together, these three lists represent sixty locutions that are unique to Ezekiel or distinctive of its diction, which also appear in GO.[39] Many of them appear multiple

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[37] Though found widely in the HB, Ezekiel and Jeremiah use variations of שוב שבות most frequently. See Deut 30.3; Jer 29.14; 30.3, 18; 31.23; 32.44; 33.7 (bis), 11, 26; Hos 6.11; Joel 4.1 (Eng 3.1); Amos 9.14; Zeph 2.7; 3.20; Pss 14.7; 53.7 (Eng 53.6); 85.2 (Eng 85.1); 126.4; Job 42.10; Lam 2.14.

[38] The etymology of שבי/ות is uncertain (Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes* [Hildesheim: Olms, 1991], §75k; Max Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* [BZAW 96; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1966], 129), and there is a long history and conflict regarding the meanings of שבית and שבות. Ordinarily שבית is taken to mean "captivity" and שבות is taken to mean "fortunes." The versions almost always translate both as "captivity," and the alternation of the Kethib-Qere in the MT indicates they understood it similarly. See the excellent discussions and bibliographies in *THAT* 2: 886–89; *HALOT* 4: 1385–87; 1393; John M. Bracke, "*Šûb šĕbût*: A Reappraisal," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 233–44.

[39] It is worth noting that GO does not share any locutions with Ezek 40–48 that do not appear elsewhere in Ezekiel. Though suggestive that GO was added to a version of Ezekiel that did not yet include chs. 40–48, this same phenomenon occurs with 4QPseudo-Ezekiel. It too lacks any reference to Ezek 40–48. Devorah Dimant has suggested, correctly I think, that this is simply due to the great difference in the themes and character of the two works ("Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel at Qumran," in *Messiah and Chris-*

times in GO. The chart below presents the text of GO with all these Ezekielian locutions underlined. It graphically illustrates the pervasive, consistent Ezekielian quality of the language of GO.[40]

II. Reuse of Ezekielian Locutions in GO: Graphic Depiction

In the following graphic presentation of Ezek 38–39, the Ezekielian locutions identified in the lists above are underlined. A dashed underline is used to indicate certain locutions that are not distinctive of Ezekiel but appear multiple times in the book and are concordant with Ezekiel's linguistic habits. The chart thus vividly depicts GO's permeation with the language of Ezekiel.

Chapter 38

1 ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר׃	– and the word of Yhwh came to me saying: 47x in Ezek
2 בן אדם שים פניך אל גוג ארץ המגוג נשיא ראש משך ותבל והנבא עליו׃	– son of man: 95x in Ezek – set your face against: 6.2; 13.17; 21.2, 7; 25.2; 28.21; 29.2; 35.2 38.2; 40.4; 44.5 – prince: 7.27; 12.10, 12; 19.1; 21.17, 30; 22.6; 26.16; 27.21; 30.13; 32.29; 34.24; 37.25; 38.2, 3; 39.1, 18; 44.3; 45.7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22; 46.2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18; 48.21, 22 – Meshek & Tubal: 27.13; 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1 – prophesy against: 6.2; 13.17; 21.2, 7; 25.2; 28.21; 29.2; 35.2; 38.2; 39.1
3 ואמרת כה אמר אדני יהוה הנני אליך גוג נשיא ראש משך ותבל׃	– prophesy (impv.) . . . and say: 13.2, 17; 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.4, 9, 12; 38.2–3, 14; 39.1 – thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek – behold I am against: 5.8; 13.8 (pl.); 21.8; 26.3, 7; 28.22; 29.3, 10; 35.3; 36.9 (pl.); 38.3; 39.1

tos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday [ed. I. Gruenwald et al.; TSAJ 32; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992], 50).

[40] It has become common practice for critics to use these Ezekielian locutions to identify a core within GO that is original to Ezekiel (e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 302–4; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 361; Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 466). See, by way of refutation, the conclusion to ch. 3.

– prince: 7.27; 12.10, 12; 19.1; 21.17, 30; 22.6; 26.16; 27.21; 30.13; 32.29; 34.24; 37.25; 38.2, 3; 39.1, 18; 44.3; 45.7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22; 46.2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18; 48.21, 22
– Meshek & Tubal: 27.13; 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1

4 ושובבתיך ונתתי
חחים בלחייך
והוצאתי אותך ואת כל חילך
סוסים ופרשים
לבשי מכלול כלם
קהל רב צנה ומגן
תפשי חרבות כלם:

– I will put hooks in your jaws: 29.4; 38.4
– horses and riders (in battle list): 23.6 (cf. 23.12, 23; 26.7); 38.4
– perfectly clothed: 23.12; 38.4
– (great) host: 16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.3, 22, 23; 38.4, 7, 13, 15
– mantlet & shield: 23.24; 26.8; 38.4; 39.9
– grasping swords: 21.16; 30.21; 38.4

5 פרס כוש ופוט אתם
כלם מגן וכובע:

– Persia, Cush, Put: 27.10; 29.10; 30.4–5; 38.5
– shield & helmet: 27.10; 38.5

6 גמר וכל אגפיה
בית תוגרמה
ירכתי צפון ואת כל אגפיו
עמים רבים אתך:

– all his hordes: 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
– Togarmah: 27.14; 38.6
– many nations/peoples: 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22

7 הכן והכן לך
אתה וכל קהלך
הנקהלים עליך
והיית להם למשמר:

– all (your) host: 27.27, 34; 32.22, 33; 38.4, 7, 13, 15 (cf. 16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46, 47; 26.7; 32.22, 23; 38.4, 7, 13, 15)

8 מימים רבים תפקד
באחרית השנים תבוא
אל ארץ משובבת מחרב
מקבצת מעמים רבים
על חרי ישראל
אשר היו לחרבה תמיד
והיא מעמים הוצאה
וישבו לבטח כלם:

– days + years: 22.4; 38.8, 17
– brought back from the sword: reversal of 6.8
– gathered from the nations: 11.17; 28.25; 29.13; 38.8
– many nations/peoples: 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22
– mountains of Israel: 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17

– ruin: 5.14; 13.4; 25.13; 26.2, 20; 29.9, 10, 12; 33.24, 27; 35.4; 36.4, 10; 38.8, 12
– dwell securely: 28.26; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26

9 ועלית כשאה תבוא
בענן לכסות הארץ תהיה
אתה וכל אגפיך
ועמים רבים אותך׃

– like a cloud covering: 30.18; 32.7; 38.9, 16
– all your hordes: 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
– many nations/peoples: 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22

10 כה אמר אדני יהוה
והיה ביום ההוא
יעלו דברים על לבבך
וחשבת מחשבת רעה׃

– thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
– in that day: 20.6; 23.38, 39; 24.26, 27; 29.21; 30.9; 38.10, 14, 18, 19; 39.11; 45.22
– rise in heart: 14.4, 7; 38.10

11 ואמרת אעלה על ארץ פרזות
אבוא השקטים ישבי לבטח
כלם ישבים באין חומה
ובריח ודלתים אין להם׃

– dwell securely: 28.26; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26

12 לשלל שלל ולבז בז
להשיב ידך על חרבות נושבת
ואל עם מאסף מגוים
עשה מקנה וקנין
ישבי על טבור הארץ׃

– take spoil: 29.19; 38.12, 13
– seize plunder: 29.19; 38.12, 13
– spoil + plunder: 7.21; 29.19; 38.12, 13
– inhabited ruins: 33.23 (27); see "ruins" 38.8
– regathered from nations: cf. 11.17; 29.5; 38.12

13 שבא ודדן וסחרי תרשיש
וכל כפריה יאמרו לך
הלשלל שלל אתה בא
הלבז בז הקהלת קהלך
לשאת כסף וזהב
לקחת מקנה וקנין
לשלל שלל גדול׃

– Sheba: 27.22, 23; 38.13
– Dedan: 27.15, 20; 38.13
– merchants of Tarshish: 27.12; 38.13
– take spoil: 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
– seize plunder: 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
– spoil + plunder: 7.21; 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
– host: 16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46, 47; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.3, 22, 23; 38.4, 7, 13, 15
– take spoil: 29.19; 38.12, 13

14 לכן הנבא בן אדם
ואמרת לגוג

– son of man: 95x in Ezek

כה אמר אדני יהוה
הלוא ביום ההוא
בשבת עמי ישראל
לבטח תדע׃

- prophesy (impv.) . . . and say: 13.2, 17; 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.4, 9, 12; 38.2–3, 14; 39.1
- thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
- in that day: 20.6; 23.38, 39; 24.26, 27; 29.21; 30.9; 38.14; 45.22
- my people Israel: 14.9; 25.14; 36.8, 12; 38.14, 16; 39.7
- dwell securely: 28.26; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26

15 ובאת ממקומך מירכתי צפון
אתה ועמים רבים אתך
רכבי סוסים כלם
קהל גדול וחיל רב׃

- many people: 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22
- horsemen (riders of horses): 23.6, 12, 23; 38.15
- great host: 16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.3, 22, 23; 38.4, 7, 13, 15
- mighty army: 17.17; 37.10; 38.16

16 ועלית על עמי ישראל
כענן לכסות הארץ
באחרית הימים תהיה
והבאותיך על ארצי
למען דעת הגוים אתי
בהקדשי בך לעיניהם גוג׃

- my people Israel: 14.9; 25.14; 36.8, 12; 38.14, 16; 39.7
- like a cloud covering: 30.18; 32.7; 38.9, 16
- come against (my) land: 14.17; 33.3; 38.16, 18 (אדמת)
- nations will know that: 26.6; 29.6; 30.26; 36.23, 36–37; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23
- show myself holy in you before the eyes of . . . : 28.25; 38.16, 23

17 כה אמר אדני יהוה
האתה הוא אשר דברתי
בימים קדמונים
ביד עבדי נביאי ישראל
הנבאים בימים ההם שנים
להביא אתך עליהם׃

- thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
- prophets of Israel: 13.2, 16 (cf. 13.4)
- days + years (as parallel terms): 22.4; 38.8, 17

18 והיה ביום ההוא
ביום בוא גוג על אדמת ישראל
נאם אדני יהוה
תעלה חמתי באפי׃

- in that day: see 38.10
- come against the land: see 38.16
- land of Israel: 7.2; 11.17; 12.19, 22; 13.9; 18.2; 20.38, 42; 21.7, 8; 25.3, 6; 33.24; 36.6; 37.12; 38.18, 19
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek
- anger aroused: 24.8; 38.18

19 ובקנאתי באש עברתי דברתי
אם לא ביום ההוא

- fire of fury: 21.26; 22.21, 31; 38.19 (cf. 7.19)

יהיה רעש גדול
על אדמת ישראל׃

- speak in jealousy: 5.13; 36.5–6; 38.19
- in that day: see 38.10
- great shaking: 3.12, 13; 38.19
- against the land of Israel: 20.42; 33.24; 36.6; 38.18; 19 (cf. "land of Israel" 38.18)

20 ורעשו מפני דגי הים
ועוף השמים
וחית השדה
וכל הרמש הרמש על האדמה
וכל האדם אשר על פני האדמה
ונהרסו ההרים
ונפלו המדרגות
ובל חומה לארץ תפול׃

- land (attenuated form of "land of Israel"): 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20; 39.26, 28
- wall + fall: cf. 13.10, 12, 14, 15; 38.20

21 וקראתי עליו לכל הרי חרב
נאם אדני יהוה
חרב איש באחיו תהיה׃

- my mountain(s): 20.40 (see "mountains of Israel" 38.8)
- sword (God's): 6.3; 35.8; 38.21
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

22 ונשפטתי אתו בדבר ובדם
וגשם שוטף ואבני אלגביש
אש וגפרית
אמטיר עליו ועל אגפיו
ועל עמים רבים אשר אתו׃

- bleeding pestilence: 5.17; 14.19; 28.23; 38.22 (33.27)
- overflowing rain: 13.11, 13; 38.22
- hailstones: 13.11, 13; 38.22
- all his hordes: 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
- many peoples: 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22

23 והתגדלתי והתקדשתי
ונודעתי לעיני גוים רבים
וידעו כי אני יהוה׃

- show myself holy + before eyes (of nations): 28.25; 38.23
- be known + in eyes of nations: 20.9; 38.23 ("nations will know that": 26.6; 29.6; 30.26; 36.23, 36–37; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23)
- in the eyes of nations: 5.8; 20.9, 14, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25; 36.23; 38.23; 39.27
- recognition formula: 84x in Ezek

Chapter 39

1 ואתה בן־אדם הנבא על־גוג
ואמרת כה אמר אדני יהוה
הנני אליך גוג
נשיא ראש משך ותבל׃

- son of man: 94x in Ezek
- prophesy against: 6.2; 13.17; 21.2, 7; 25.2; 28.21; 29.2; 35.2; 38.2; 39.1
- prophesy (impv.) . . . and say: 13.2, 17; 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.4, 9, 12; 38.2–3, 14; 39.1
- thus says the Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
- behold I am against: 5.8; 13.8; 21.8; 26.3; 28.22; 29.3, 10; 35.3; 36.9; 38.3; 39.1
- prince: 7.27; 12.10, 12; 19.1; 21.17, 30; 22.6; 26.16; 27.21; 30.13; 32.29; 34.24; 37.25; 38.2, 3; 39.1, 18; 44.3; 45.7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22; 46.2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18; 48.21, 22
- Meshek & Tubal: 27.13; 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1

2 ושבבתיך וששעתיך
והעליתיך מירכתי צפון
והבאותך על־הרי ישראל׃

- mountains of Israel: 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17

3 והכיתי קשתך מיד שמאולך
וחציך מיד ימינך אפיל׃

- fall from hand: 30.22; 39.3

4 על־הרי ישראל תפול
אתה וכל־אגפיך
ועמים אשר אתך
לעיט צפור כל־כנף
וחית השדה נתתיך לאכלה׃

- mountains of Israel: 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17
- upon the . . . you will fall: 11.10; 29.5; 39.4 (cf. 11.10; 33.27; 39.5)
- all your hordes: 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
- birds of every type: 17.23; 39.4, 17
- I will give you as food: 29.5; 33.27; 35.12; 39.4 (cf. 15:4, 6)

5 על־פני השדה תפול
כי אני דברתי
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- fall upon the face (of the field): 29.5; 39.5 (cf. 11.10; 33.27; 39.4)
- (for) I have spoken: 5.15, 17 (12.25, 28); 17.21, 24; 21.22, 37; 22.14; 23.34; 24.14; 26.5, 14; 28.10; 30.12; 34.24; 36.36; 37.14; 39.5, 8
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

6 ושלחתי־אש במגוג
ובישבי האיים לבטח

- inhabitants of coastlands: 27.35; 39.6
- dwell safely: 28.26 (bis); 34.28 (25,

וידעו כי־אני יהוה׃

27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26
- recognition formula: 84x in Ezek
- (nations) will know: 22.16; 36.23, 36; 37.28; 38.16; 39.7, 23

7 ואת־שם קדשי אודיע
בתוך עמי ישראל
ולא־אחל את־שם־קדשי עוד
וידעו הגוים כי־אני יהוה
קדוש בישראל׃

- my holy name: 20.39; 36.20, 21, 22; 43.7, 8; 39.7, 25; 43.7, 8
- I will make known: 20.11
- my people Israel: 14.9; 25.14; 36.8, 12; 39.7
- recognition formula: 84x in Ezek
- name profaned: 20.9, 14, 22, 39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7

8 הנה באה ונהיתה
נאם אדני יהוה
הוא היום אשר דברתי׃

- behold it is coming: 7.5, 6, 10; 30.9; 33.33; 39.8 (cf. 24.24)
- behold it is coming and will be done: 21.12; 39.8
- *niphal* היה (God as actant): 21.12; 39.8
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek
- (for) I have spoken: 5.15, 17 (12.25, 28); 17.21, 24; 21.22, 37; 22.14; 23.34; 24.14; 26.5, 14; 28.10; 30.12; 34.24; 36.36; 37.14; 39.5, 8

9 ויצאו ישבי ערי ישראל
ובערו והשיקו בנשק ומגן וצנה
בקשת ובחצים
ובמקל יד וברמח
ובערו בהם אששבע שנים׃

- inhabit + city: 36.10, 33; 39.9
- mantlet & shield: 23.24; 38.4; 39.9 (cf. 26.8)

10 ולא־ישאו עצים מן־השדה
ולא יחטבו מן־היערים
כי בנשק יבערו־אש
ושללו את־שלליהם
ובזזו את־בזזיהם
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- take spoil: 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
- seize plunder: 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
- spoil + plunder: 7.21; 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

11 והיה ביום ההוא
אתן לגוג מקום־שם
קבר בישראל
גי העברים קדמת הים
וחסמת היא את־העברים
וקברו שם את־גוג
ואת־כל־המונה
וקראו גיא המון גוג׃

- in that day: see 38.10
- קב״ר: 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 (bis), 12, 13, 14, 15 (bis)
- travelers: 5.14; 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34; 39.11, 14
- crowd: 7.11, 12, 13, 14; 23.42; 26.13; 29.19; 30.4, 10, 15; 31.2, 18; 32.12, 16, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32; 39.11 (56x outside of Ezek)

12 וקברום בית ישראל
למען טהר את־ארץ
שבעה חדשים׃

- קב״ר: 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 (bis), 12, 13, 14, 15 (bis)
- house of Israel: 78x in Ezek
- purify the land: 22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 (cf: 22.3, 26; 36.17–18)

13 וקברו כל־עם הארץ
והיה להם לשם יום הכבדי
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- קב״ר: 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 (bis), 12, 13, 14, 15 (bis)
- all people of land: 7.21; 12.19; 22.29; 33.2; 39.13; 45.16, 22
- glorification of God: 28.22
- signatory formula: 84x in Ezek

14 ואנשי תמיד יבדילו
עברים בארץ
מקברים את־העברים
את־הנותרים
על־פני הארץ לטהרה
מקצה שבעה־חדשים יחקרו׃

- travelers: 5.14; 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34; 39.11, 14
- קב״ר: 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 (bis), 12, 13, 14, 15 (bis)
- purify the land: 22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 (cf. 22.3, 26; 36.17–18)

15 ועברו העברים בארץ
וראה עצם אדם
ובנה אצלו ציון
עד קברו אתו המקברים
אל־גיא המון גוג׃

- travelers: 5.14; 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34; 39.11, 14
- human bone: cf. 6.5; 24.4, 5, 10; 37.1–14 (10x); 39.15
- קב״ר: 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 (bis), 12, 13, 14, 15 (bis)

16 וגם שם־עיר המונה
וטהרו הארץ׃

- purify the land: 22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 (cf. 22.3, 26; 36.17–18)

17 ואתה בן־אדם
כה־אמר אדני יהוה
אמר לצפור כל־כנף
ולכל חית השדה
התקבצו ובאו
האספו מסביב על־זבחי
אשר אני זבח לכם
זבח גדול על הרי ישראל
ואכלתם בשר ושתיתם דם׃

- son of man: 95x in Ezek
- thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
- speak (impv. addressed to prophet): 24x in Ezek
- birds of every type: 17.23; 39.4, 17
- assemble (קבץ) and come: 34.13; 37.21; 39.17 (cf. 38.8; 39.27)
- mountains of Israel: 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17

18 בשר גבורים תאכלו
ודם־נשיאי הארץ תשתו
אילים כרים ועתודים פרים
מריאי בשן כלם׃

- prince: 7.27; 12.10, 12; 19.1; 21.17, 30; 22.6; 26.16; 27.21; 30.13; 32.29; 34.24; 37.25; 38.2, 3; 39.1, 18; 44.3; 45.7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22; 46.2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18; 48.21, 22

19 וַאֲכַלְתֶּם־חֵלֶב לְשָׂבְעָה
ושתיתם דם לשכרון
מזבחי אשר־זבחתי לכם׃

– eat . . . for satiety: 34.3; 39.19

20 ושבעתם על־שלחני סוס ורכב
גבור וכל־איש מלחמה
נאם אדני יהוה׃

– horse & horseman: 26.7; 39.20 (cf. 38.4)
– signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

21 ונתתי את־כבודי בגוים
וראו כל־הגוים
את־משפטי אשר עשיתי
ואת־ידי אשר־שמתי בהם׃

– glorification of God: 28.22; 39.21

22 וידעו בית ישראל
כי אני יהוה אלהיהם
מן־היום ההוא והלאה׃

– house of Israel: 78x in Ezek (63x elsewhere)
– Yhwh their God: 28.26; 34.30; 39.22, 28 (24x elsewhere)
– recognition formula: 84x in Ezek

23 וידעו הגוים כי בעונם גלו
בית־ישראל על אשר מעלו־בי
ואסתר פני מהם
ואתנם ביד צריהם
ויפלו בחרב כלם׃

– the nations will know that: 22.16; 26.6; 29.6; 30.26; 36.23, 36–37; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23
– house of Israel: 78x in Ezek (63x elsewhere)
– unfaithful to me: 17.20; 20.27; 39.23, 26
– fall by sword (all of them): 5.12; 6.12; 11.10; 17.21; 23.25; 24.21; 25.13; 30.5, 6, 17; 32.12, 20, 22, 23, 24; 33.27; 35.8; 39.23

24 כטמאתם וכפשעיהם
עשיתי אתם
ואסתר פני מהם׃

– "as/according to" + noun(s) or noun clause + "I acted/will act": 7.27; 16.59; 20.44; 35.11, 15; 39.24 (cf. 31.11)

25 לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה
עתה אשיב את־שבות[41] יעקב
ורחמתי כל־בית ישרעל
וקנאתי לשם קדשי׃

– thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
– restore the fortunes: 16.53 (bis); 29.14; 39.25
– Jacob: 28.25; 39.25
– house of Israel: 8.10; 12.24; 13.9; 17.2; 20.40; 33.20; 39.25; 43.7
– my holy name: 20.39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7, 25

[41] Kethib שבית.

26 ונשו את־כלמתם ואת־כל־מעלם אשר מעלו־בי בשבתם על־אדמתם לבטח ואין מחריד׃	– bear your/their shame: 16.52, 54 (61–63); 32.24, 25, 30; 34.29; 36.6, 7 (31); 39.26; 44.13. – unfaithful with me: 20.27; 39.26 – dwell securely: 28.25–26; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26 – dwell upon their land: 28.25; 36.17; 39.26 – land (attenuated form of "land of Israel"): 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20; 39.26, 28 – no one to cause fear: 34.28; 39.26
27 בשובבי אותם מן־העמים וקבצתי אתם מארצות איביהם ונקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים רבים׃	– return (שוב) from exile: 34.4, 16 – gathered (קבץ) from lands: 20.34, 41; 34.13; 36.24; 39.27 (cf. 11.17; 28.25; 29.13; 38.8) – display holiness (reflexive) in them before the eyes of nations: 20.41; 28.22, 25; 39.27
28 וידעו כי אני יהוה אלהיהם בהגלותי אתם אל־הגוים וכנסתים על־אדמתם ולא־אותיר עוד מהם שם׃	– recognition formula: 78x in Ezek – Yhwh their God: 28.26; 34.30; 39.22, 28 (24x elsewhere) – land (attenuated form of "land of Israel"): 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20; 39.26, 28
29 ולא־אסתיר עוד פני מהם אשר שפכתי את־רוחי על־בית ישראל נאם אנדי יהוה׃	– (my) spirit: 11.19; 37.1, 5, 6, 8, 9 (3x), 10 (bis), 14; 39.29 – house of Israel: 78x in Ezek – signatory formula: 84x in Ezek

III. Reuse of Ezekiel's Compositional Style

Moving beyond phrases and clauses, it is also plain that many features of GO's compositional style are similar to Ezekiel's. The techniques by which individual oracles in GO are composed are comparable to recurring features of Ezekiel's oracles. Apart from similarities in language, which we have already addressed, there are six literary conventions that are so common in Ezekiel's oracles that, when taken together, they can be considered a distinctive oracular style.

The first and most striking trait is the book's persistent first-person point of view, which Zimmerli referred to as the "I-style."[42] The reader ex-

[42] The only two exceptions to this are 1.2–3a, a later superscription added by the technique of *Wiederaufnahme* (על נהר כבר [1.1aβ] . . . על נהר כבר [1.3aβ]) and 24.24, where

periences everything from the prophet's point of view. When the prophet is addressed by God, the words are passed on directly to the reader ("The word of Yhwh came to me: 'Son of Man, prophesy and say . . .'"). There is no report that the prophet did as he was commanded; that is assumed. Nor is there any third-person account of the prophet's announcements or deeds. In a sense, the reader's perception is restricted to the prophet's reception of oracles, cut off from any knowledge of activities occurring outside of the prophet's mind and equally cut off from the prophet's own reactions to the prophecies.[43] As Renz rightly points out, the prophet is not cast in the role of a mediator between Yhwh and his people. He is a mediator between Yhwh and the reader.[44]

The second trait is the clear and unambiguous delineation of speech units. Each of the fifteen date formulae clearly marks the beginning of a new rhetorical unit. Also, the word-event formula, "the word of Yhwh came to me," ויהי דבר־יהוה על/אלי, always stands at the beginning of a new oracle or oracle complex, with or without an accompanying date formula. These larger units, of which there are about fifty in the book, are further subdivided by a number of markers. The most common formulae introducing portions of oracles are: the messenger formula, "thus says (the Lord) Yhwh" (120x), the pronoun phrase "and you (son of man)" (37x), and the various formulae expressing divine control of the prophet (36x).[45] The most common closing formulae, when they appear, are the recognition formula (78x), and the signatory formula (85x). These formulae, and others like them, stand at the boundaries of individual oracles in Ezekiel.[46] In this way, Ezekiel's rhetorical units are clearly defined. This sets Ezekiel apart

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the prophet is mentioned in the third person. The oracle in 24.15–27 is, nonetheless, in the "I-style." Ezekiel is being instructed by Yhwh to describe himself as a "sign" to the people.

[43] There are a few exceptions to this scattered throughout the book. We do experience the prophet's reactions on six occasions (4.14; 9.8; 11.13; 21.5 [Eng 20.49]; 24.20; 37.3). The prophet reports his feelings to the reader in 2.14–15. On a few occasions, the prophet reports that he did, in fact, comply with his divine instructions (11.25; 12.7; 24.18).

[44] Thomas Renz, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999), 137; see also Ellen Davis, *Swallowing the Scroll: Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy* (JSOTSup 78/BLS 21; Sheffield: Almond, 1989), 83.

[45] "The hand of Yhwh came upon me" (7x); "the Spirit of Yhwh fell upon me/lifted me", etc. (9x); "he brought me/led me/took me" (20x, esp. in chs. 40–48).

[46] For a recent discussion of Ezekiel's use of various discursive formulae, see Tyler Mayfield, *Literary Structures and Setting in Ezekiel* (FAT II/43; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Frank Lothar Hossfeld, "Das Buch Ezechiel," in *Einleitung das Alte Testament* (ed. E. Zenger et al.; 7th ed.; Kohlhammer-Studienbücher Theologie 1.1. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 489–506.

from many prophetic books, which make sporadic or unsystematic use of transitional markers.

Third, Ezekiel often divides oracles into two discursive units. Moshe Greenberg, who first identified this distinctive trait, labeled it the "halving technique."[47] The two units overlap in subject and argument, but each may be unified around unique themes or catchwords. The two halves of the oracle are then conjoined by a coda that links elements from both parts. So, for example, the oracle condemning pagan worship on the high places in chapter 6 is divided into two units, 6.1–10 and 6.11–14, the boundaries of which are clearly marked by oracular formulae.[48] The first unit is introduced by the word-event formula, the second by the messenger formula. Both halves of the oracle conclude variations on the recognition formula, "and they/you will know that I am Yhwh."

The fourth trait of Ezekiel's compositional style is the habit of thematizing the oracles. The oracles manifest a single-minded focus that is not evident in other prophetic books like Isaiah or Jeremiah, who have the habit of weaving numerous themes together in a single oracle. In Ezekiel an oracle's theme is, quite often, highlighted by the repeated use of particular catchwords. To return to Ezek 6, as an example, the prophet repeatedly addresses his oracles to the "mountains of Israel," הרי ישראל (vv. 2, 3), underlining who is to be judged (Israel) and why (for conducting pagan cultic rites on the mountaintops). Both halves of the oracle are dense with repetition, bound together by numerous catchwords: חרב (vv. 3, 8, 11, 12), נפל (vv. 4, 7, 11, 12), גלולים (v. 4, 5, 6, 9, 13), שמם (vv. 4, 6, 14 [bis]), סביבות מזבחות (vv. 5, 13), חלל בתוך (vv. 7, 13), and תועבות (vv. 9, 10, 11).[49]

Quoting the errant notions of those to be rebuked or judged is the fifth rhetorical habit of Ezekiel's composers (8.12; 11.3, 15; 12.22, 27; 18.2, 25, 29; 20.32, 49; 25.8; 26.2; 28.2, 9; 29.2, 9; 33.20, 24; 35.10; 36.2). By means of this device, elements of disputation are woven into the visions, proof sayings, admonitions and other oracular forms. It elevates the combative quality of Ezekiel's oracles and pits the prophet against everyone: foreign peoples (e.g., 25.8), foreign rulers (e.g., 28.2), the leaders of Judah (e.g., 8.12; 11.3), the people of Judah (e.g., 11.15), and even the exiles (e.g., 18.2).

Sixth, and finally, Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations often adopt distinct *Gattungen* and varieties of wordplay in an effort to mock and deride Israel's enemies. Among the favorite rhetorical ploys are puns and

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[47] On "halving" see Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (AB 22; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 25–26; Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel 1–24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 23, 218.

[48] Other examples include chs. 7, 13, 16, 18, 20, and 38–39.

[49] For catchwords in each half of the oracle, see Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 137–38.

taunts (e.g., 25.6; 26.3–5; 28.22–24), dirges (e.g., 26.17; 28.11–19), folk tales or allegories (e.g., 28.1–10; 29.1–12; 35.1–15), or some combination of the three (e.g., 27.3–36). All serve to portray the enemies of Israel as arrogant fools and/or hapless victims. These techniques are, by no means, limited to Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations (chs. 25–32, 35), but they are used with particular frequency in those portions of the book.

GO manifests most of these traits. It is a first-person oracle, opened by Ezekiel's stereotyped word-event formula (ויהי דבר יהוה על/אל). It uses typical Ezekielian formulae to clearly delineate the boundaries of each oracle and rhetorical unit. It is constructed according to the halving technique: chapters 38 and 39 form complementary textual panels, nearly identical in length.[50] It mocks Gog's host as helpless animals led to slaughter and served up on God's table (39.17–20), and it quotes the errant notions of Gog in 38.10–12, by way of explaining why Gog deserves his fate.

In the face of all the evidence accumulated to this point, linguistic and stylistic, it is tempting to conclude that the author of GO is the same person or school responsible for the majority of the book of Ezekiel.[51] This was, in fact, the consensus opinion until the beginning of the twentieth century and has been, again, since the middle of the twentieth century.[52] Before taking this step, however, the points of similarity between GO and Ezekiel must be closely examined. The language of Ezekiel and GO must be compared in terms of vocabulary choice and usage to determine if GO's Ezekielian idiolect is genuine.

[50] See beginning of ch. 5 below.

[51] Most notable here is Stephen Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 98–103. Cook compiled a list of forty-two locutions shared by Ezekiel and GO from which he concluded that GO was composed by Ezekiel or his immediate Zadokite circle.

[52] For example, Samuel R. Driver, at the end of the nineteenth century, and Paul M. Joyce, at the end of the twentieth, expressed comparable opinions regarding the unified authorship of the whole book. "No critical question arises in connection with the authorship of the book, the whole from beginning to end bearing unmistakably the stamp of a single mind" (Driver, *Introduction*, 261). Ezekiel "has proved notoriously resistant to any straightforward division into primary and secondary material," because "secondary material (even where it can be identified) bears an unusually close 'family resemblance' to primary" (P. Joyce, "Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives on Ezekiel," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis* [ed. J. C. de Moor; *OtSt* 34; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 115–28).

B. Differences between the Gog Oracles and Ezekiel

I. Unique Vocabulary Choices

Ezekiel is fond of certain words and phrases. He often prefers to use and reuse a select expression when another could be employed with similar effect. The author of GO, on occasion, fails to note some of these preferences and uses a different word or phrase than Ezekiel, one found nowhere else in the book. The following examples illustrate this point.

1. חרבה תמיד, *"perpetual waste"* (38.8). Ezekiel uses חרבה on several occasions. It is a term adopted from the H corpus, appearing sixteen times in Lev 26. When Ezekiel describes the destruction of a country or city in his own terms, however, he prefers "devastation," שממה (14.15, 16; 15.8; 29.9, 10, 12 [bis]; 32.15; 35.4), or "devastation and waste," שממה ומשמה (6.14; 23.33; 33.28, 29; 35.3). On one occasion, in the oracle against Mount Seir, a phrase for permanent destruction appears: שממות עולם, "perpetual waste" (35.9). The author of GO expresses this notion with the phrase חרבה תמיד (38.8), a phrase that is unknown elsewhere in the HB. (On the condition of the land in GO, see pp. 73–75 below.)
2. אחרית השנים, *"the latter years"* (38.8). This phrase is a variation on באחרית הימים.[53] The only other occurrence of אחרית + שנה in the HB is Deut 11.12, which does not use it as an eschatological expression ("from the beginning of the year until the end of the year"). GO is dependent upon Deuteronomy, most notably in 39.23–29, but this particular phrase appears to be unique to GO.
3. והיה ביום ההוא, *"it will happen in that day"* (38.10, 18; 39.11). This temporal formula is unknown in Ezekiel outside of GO. As a general rule, Ezekiel avoids temporal expressions. When a temporal expression appears, Ezekiel prefers the simple "then" (usually temporal *waw*). The formula היה ביום ההוא, though unknown in Ezekiel, is found quite commonly in First Isaiah (7.18, 21, 23; 10.20, 27; 11.10, 11; 17.4; 22.20; 23.15; 24.21; 27.12, 13) and Deutero-Zechariah (12.3, 9; 13.2, 4; 14.6, 7, 8, 13).[54] As we will see in the next chapter, the author of GO was familiar with both of these texts.
4. כסף וזהב, *"silver and gold"* (38.13). In LBH the elements of the stock phrase כסף וזהב, "silver and gold," were sometimes reversed to produce זהב וכסף, "gold and silver."[55] Ezekiel prefers the LBH formulation "gold

[53] For a discussion of the meaning of both phrases, see below pp. 94–97.

[54] Also Jer 4.9; 30.8; Hos 1.5; 2.18, 23; Joel 4.18; Amos 8.9; Mic 5.9; Zeph 1.11.

[55] See Mark Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition*, 174n163, for all thirty-two examples; Avi Hurvitz, "Diachronic Chiasm in Biblical Hebrew," in *The Bible and the History*

and silver" (16.17; 17.13; 28.4). GO, on the other hand, reverts to the older expression.

5. בימים ההם, *"in those days"* (38.17). This is another temporal formula unattested in Ezekiel. It is common in the Torah and Prophets (e.g., Gen 6.4; Exod 2.11, 23; Deut 17.9; 19.17; 26.3; Josh 20.6; Judg 17.6; 18.1; 19.1; 20.27, 28; 21.25; 1 Sam 3.1; 28.1; 2 Sam 16.23; 1 Kgs 10.32; 15.37; 20.1; 2 Kgs 10.32; 15.37; 20.1; Isa 38.1; Jer 31.29; 33.15, 16; 50.20; Zech 8.6) and would be familiar to any author steeped in biblical language.
6. וראו כל הגוים, *"all the nations will see"* (39.21). Ezekiel often speaks of the nations recognizing Yhwh. The recognition formula appears no less than seventy-eight times in the book. In Ezekiel, this is expressed in terms of the nations knowing (ידע) Yhwh (e.g., 36:23, 36; 37:28 [38:16, 23; 39:7, 23, 28]), or God acting "before the eyes of the nations," לעיני גוים (e.g., 5:8; 20:9, 14, 22, 41; 22:16; 28:25; 36:23 [39:27]). The expression גוים + ראה is most distinctive of Deutero-Isaiah (52.10; 62.2; 66.19). This connection will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.
7. ידי אשר שמתי בהם, *"my hand which I set upon them."* In 39.21, God says "all the nations will see my judgment, which I delivered, and my hand, which I set upon them." The locution "my hand, which I set upon them" (שים + יד + ב-) is unique to 39.21.[56] Though the exact expression is unique, the notion is quite common in the book, occurring eleven times. But it is always expressed by the alternative designation, "I will stretch out my hand against them" (נטה + ידי + על).[57]
8. גלה, *"exiled."* Ezek 39.23 and 28 use the verb גלה to refer to the exile:
   - 39.23 כי בעונם גלו בית ישראל, "the house of Israel was exiled because of their iniquity."
   - 39.28 בהגלותי אתם אל הגוים, "when I exiled them among the nations."

   These are not typical expressions for the exile in Ezekiel. Ezekiel prefers to describe Israel being scattered (זרה or פוץ) to the winds (כל רוח or רוח), among the lands (ארצות), or among the nations (עמים / גוים).[58]

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of Israel. Studies in Honor of Jacob Lavor (ed. Benjamin Uffenheimer; Tel Aviv, 1969), 248-51 (Hebrew).

[56] This may be a conflation of the common expressions "set the face" (שים + פנה) and "stretch the hand" (נטה + יד). The examples most similar to Ezek 39.21 are Gen 48.12 and 18, Ps 89.26 (of another's hand), and 2 Kgs 11.16 (= 2 Chr 23.15).

[57] Ezek 6.14; 14.9, 13; 16.27; 20.33, 34; 25.7, 13, 16; 30.25; 35.3.

[58] The combination זרה + רוח is found in 5.2, 10, 12, and 12.14. The expression זרה + (ב)ארצות appears in 6.8; 12.15; 20.23; 22.15; 29.12; 30.23; 30.26; 36.19. In 11.16, 17; 20.34, 41, we find פוץ + (ב)ארצות, and in 12.15; 20.23; 22.15; 29.12; 30.23, 26; 36.19 we find פוץ + (ב)גוים. Finally, פוץ + (ב)עמים appears in 28.25 and 29.13. On three

When a finite verb of גלה appears in Ezekiel, it almost always does so with the meaning "uncover, expose," not with the meaning "to go into exile."[59]

9. רח״ם, *"compassion"* (39.25). At the close of GO, God promises to "restore the fortunes of Jacob" and to "have compassion (רחמתי) on all the house of Israel." The lexeme רח״ם is common in the HB, but this is the only occurrence of the word in the book of Ezekiel. To express compassion, Ezekiel prefers חום or חמל, and in all but one case, Ezekiel uses them with negative connotations (i.e., "I will not have compassion").[60]
10. *Language for the regathering.* When describing the regathering of the scattered people of Israel, 39.27 and 28 use the following language:

   – 39.27 בשובבי אותם מן העמים וקבצתי אתם מארצות, "when I return them from the peoples and I gather them from the lands"
   – 39.28 בנסתים על אדמתם, "I will gather them to their land"

   Neither שו״ב nor בנ״ם is used in Ezekiel for return from exile.[61] Ezekiel has fixed ways of describing the return from exile.

11.17	(*piel*) קבץ + מן + עמים . . . (*qal*) אסף + מן + ארצות
20.34	(*hiphil*) יצא + מן + עמים . . . (*piel*) קבץ + מן + ארצות
20.41	(*hiphil*) יצא + מן + עמים . . . (*piel*) קבץ + מן + ארצות
28.25	(*piel*) קבץ + מן + עמים
29.13	(*piel*) קבץ + מן + עמים
34.13	(*hiphil*) יצא + מן + עמים . . . (*piel*) קבץ + מן + ארצות
38.8[62]	(*pual*) קבץ + מן + עמים . . . (*hophal*) יצא + מן + עמים

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occasions פוץ occurs without an accompanying prepositional phrase (34.5, 6; 46.18). On one occasion it occurs with שָׁם (34.12), and on another with אל החוצה (34.21).

[59] See 13.14 (uncover foundations);16.36, 37; 22.10; 23.10, 29 (uncover nakedness); and 16.57; 21.29; 23.18 (expose sin). Ezek 12.3 is the only case in the book of a finite form of גלה being used for exile. The nouns גּוֹלָה and/or גָּלוּת do appear in 1.1, 2; 3.11, 15; 11.24, 25; 12.4, 7, 11; 25.3; 33.21; 40.1.

[60] Ezek 20.17, "nevertheless my eye spared them," is the one use of חום in Ezekiel with a positive sense. חום and חמל appear together in 5.11; 7.4, 9; 8.18; 9.5, 10; 16.5. חום appears by itself in 20.17 and 24.14. נחם occurs by itself, with the meaning "feel compassion," in 24.14.

[61] שו״ב, though never used for return from exile, is common in Ezek (1.14; 3.19, 20; 7.13; 8.6, 13, 15, 17; 9.11; 13.22; 14.6; 18.8, 12, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32; 20.22; 21.10, 35; 27.15; 29.14; 33.9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19; 34.4, 26; 35.7, 9; 38.4, 8, 12; 39.2; 44.1; 46.9, 17; 47.1, 6, 7 [cases of the phrase שוב שבות are omitted]). בנם, conversely, is uncommon in the HB, occurring in only eight instances, all of them examples of LBH (Ezek 39.28; Pss 3.7; 147.2; Qoh 2.8; 3.5; Esth 4.16; Neh 12.44; 1 Chr 22.2).

[62] Excluded from this list is 36.24, לקחתי אתכם מן . . . (*piel*) וקבצתי אתכם מכל הארצות הגוים (*qal*). As Papyrus[967] and Codex Wirceburgensis show, Ezek 36.23c–38 is an expansion in MT (Allan C. Johnson, H. S. Gehman, E. H. Kase, Jr., *The John H. Scheide Bibli-*

> Neither the expression in 39.27 nor that in 39.28 matches the stereotypical ways that Ezekiel describes the regathering. The result is a pair of unique clauses, which are discordant with Ezekiel's idiolect.

These ten examples of unique or unusual vocabulary choices are highly revealing. The author of GO is clearly familiar with the style of Ezekiel and attempting to mimic that style. But the author does so, on occasion, imperfectly. These imperfections arise not only in the selection of vocabulary, as we have just seen, but also (even more clearly) in the way Ezekiel's vocabulary is utilized.

II. Unique Uses of Ezekielian Locutions

GO makes use of twenty-nine locutions that are found only in the book of Ezekiel, not including those which only appear in GO. A close look at these locutions reveals certain differences in the ways that six of them are used in Ezekiel and in GO.

1. ונתתי חחים בלחייך, *"I will put hooks in your jaw"* (38.4). In GO, God conscripts Gog, chief prince of Meshek and Tubal, to assail his land. He says to the prince, "I will put hooks in your jaw" and "bring you and all your army" against the mountains of Israel (38.4). The expression, "put hooks in your jaw" (לחי + חח) is striking and immediately calls to mind its original context, the oracle against Pharaoh in Ezek 29. In that context, Pharaoh is likened to a crocodile who "stretches out in the midst of his rivers" (29.3), content in his supremacy. Yhwh promises to catch him with a hook in the jaw, to drag him onto dry ground, and to allow lesser creatures, the birds and beasts, to feed on his carcass (29.4–5). The term "hook" (חח) reappears in the parable of the young lions in Ezek 19. In that context, two lions of Israel are captured with hooks and dragged into exile in Babylon. The metaphor in 19.4, 9 is similar to that in 29.4. Both use the image of a "hook" in their description of capturing a wild animal and dragging it about against its will. In contrast, the expression "put hooks in your jaw" is utilized in 38.4 as an image of subtle coercion, so subtle that Gog is not even conscious of it. Though the reader has no difficulty navigating this semantic shift, it seems clear that the use in 29.4 is the original one. There is a stronger logical relation between a "hook in the jaw" and capture than there is with subtle coercion.

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cal Papyri: Ezekiel [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938]; Emanuel Tov, "Recensional Differences Between the MT and LXX of Ezekiel," *ETL* 62 [1986]: 99–101).

The notion that God sometimes coerces the enemies of Israel to act in certain ways is not original to GO. In 2 Kgs 19.28 (= Isa 37.29) God says of Sennacherib:

> Because you have raged against me
> and your arrogance has come to my ears,
> I will put my hook in your nose (חחי באפך)
> and my bit in your mouth (שפה);
> I will turn you back (השיבתיך) on the way
> by which you came.

There are several similarities between 2 Kgs 19.28 and GO in their language and imagery. Both use the term "hook," חח (38.4). Both use variations on the verb שוב (38.4; 39.2). Both are about the divine coercion of an enemy of Israel. GO paints a picture that, as a whole, is dependent upon 2 Kgs 19.28 (Isa 37.29). The author of GO, however, chose to express that picture in language that is distinctive of Ezekiel (חחים בלחייך), an expression that, in its original use, depicted capture, not unobtrusive coercion.[63]

2. בענן לכסות, "*like a cloud covering*" (38.9, 16). Ezekiel uses this metaphor in 30.18 and 32.7, and again in 30.3; 34.12 (without כסה). In each of these texts, it is used as a metaphor of destruction. For example, 30.18, part of the oracle against Egypt, reads,

> At Tehaphnehes the day will be dark,
> when I break there the dominion of Egypt,
> and its proud might will come to an end;
> She [the city] will be *covered by a cloud* (היא ענן יכסנה),
> and her daughter-towns will go into captivity.

GO uses the same metaphor to imagine an army blanketing the landscape (38.8, 16). Other prophets do use the cloud metaphor for an invading army (Jer 4.13; Joel 2.2; Zeph 1.15; all without כסה), but not Ezekiel.[64]

3. נביאי ישראל, *"prophets of Israel"* (13.2, 16; cf. 13.4; 38.17). As noted above (p. 44), the qualifier "of Israel" seems unnecessary in 38.17: "are you not he of whom I spoke by the hand of my servants the *prophets of Israel*?" an odd qualifier in this context. The locution "my servants,"

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[63] Supporting the claim made here that GO borrowed the image from Ezekiel is the observation that only Ezekiel uses the plural "hooks" (חחים). All other occurrences in the HB use the singular "hook" (חח; Exod 35.22, 2 Kgs 19.28, Isa 37.29). Note also, the only other picture in the HB of capturing enemies with a "hook" uses חכה, "fishhook" (Hab 1.15).

[64] The most common use of this image in the HB is cultic. It is used, e.g., for the theophany at Sinai (Exod 24.15–16), the cloud of presence in wilderness (Exod 40.34; Num 9.15–16; 17.7), and clouds of incense in the sanctum (Lev 15.13).

used for the prophets, always designates true Israelite prophets (see #11, pp. 98–99 below). The whole phrase נביאי ישראל is derived from Ezek 13, where Ezekiel accuses Israelite prophets of preying upon their own people. The author of GO used the locution in his effort to coordinate the language of GO with the rest of the book, but he used it with a different referent. He used it to describe the true and reliable Israelite prophets of an earlier time,[65] not the false and exploitative Israelite prophets of the present.

4. וקראתי עליו לכל הרי חרב, *"I will call a sword against him in all my mountains"* (38.21). The image of God summoning a sword against his land is a common trope in Ezekiel (5.17; 6.3; 11.8; 12.14; 14.17, 21; 21.8, 9, 10, 25, 33; 29.8; 30.4; 32.10; 33.2). Everywhere in the book, except for GO, it is an image of invasion – God bringing enemies against his people to judge them. In GO, the image is entirely different: "I will summon against him, unto all my mountains, a sword – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh. Every man's sword will be against his brother" (38.21). The image, God summoning a sword against the mountains, is derived from Ezek 6. But in GO the image refers to enemy soldiers turning on one another. This theme is found, for example, in Judg 7.22, 1 Sam 14.20, Hag 2.22, Zech 14.13, 2 Chr 20.23, 1 Enoch 66.7 and 100.1, but never in Ezekiel. In other words, the author of GO has again expressed a theme derived from outside Ezekiel in terms known from inside Ezekiel.[66]
5. בדבר ובדם, *"with pestilence and with blood"* (38.22). The expression ודם דבר, found in Ezek 5.17; 14.19; 28.23; 33.27, is a hendiadys meaning "bleeding pestilence." There are several reasons to think it is a hendiadys. (1) It is used to refer to a single judgment in 5.17, where it will kill one-third of the people. (2) In 14.12–19, God suggests four judgments: famine, beast, sword, and "bleeding pestilence." (3) In Ezekiel's judgment oracles, when דם occurs without דבר it refers to death by violence (e.g., 16.38; 35.6). This excludes the possibility that in 5.17 and 14.12–19 דם refers to violent death and דבר to plague, because the "sword" is included in both contexts as a punishment distinguishable from דם. (4) Finally, in 28.23 דבר and דם appear in parallel lines as a broken collocation.[67] When the phrase was reused in the list of judg-

[65] Regarding the notion that earlier prophets predicted the coming of Gog, see pp 139–43 (on name Gog) and 262–66 (on this verse).

[66] Note also in Ezek 38.21 God "calls" (קרא) the sword. The only other time חרב is combined with קרא in the HB is Jer 25.29. Ezekiel prefers to say that God "brings" (בוא) the sword (5.17; 6.3; 11.8; 14.17; 21.25; 29.8; 30.4; 33.2) or "sends" (יצא) the sword (21.8, 9, 10).

[67] See Tooman, "דבר ודם."

ments 38.21–22, the writer did not recognize the hendiadys. Ezekiel 38.22a reads, "I will judge him with (-ב) pestilence and with (-ב) blood." The author's repetition of -ב before דם, broke up the complement and indicates that the author understood דבר and דם as separate items.[68]

There is another inconsistency between GO and the rest of Ezekiel in the use of דם + דבר. In Ezekiel's prophecies against Jerusalem and Sidon, he discloses several disasters which will befall those cities for their sins. Jerusalem will endure "famine, wild beasts, bleeding pestilence (דבר ודם), and warfare" (5.17). Sidon will suffer bleeding pestilence (דבר ודם) and military defeat (28.23). In GO, the author has included it in a list of weapons that God will hurl against Gog when he ascends the mountains of Israel. "I will contend with him with pestilence and with blood. Flooding rain and hailstones, fire and brimstone, I will rain upon him" (38.22). The inclusion of blood and pestilence in this list stands out. With the exception of pestilence and blood, the list of images depicts sudden, supernatural, cataclysmic destruction. The author of GO, in his effort to mimic Ezekiel's verbiage, appears to have compiled an indiscriminate inventory of disasters culled from other oracles in the book.[69]

6. גשם שוטף ואבני אלגביש, *"flooding rain and hailstones"* (38.22). Also appearing in the list of disasters in 38.22 are two images borrowed from Ezek 13. In that passage, Ezekiel announces judgment against false prophets who comfort the exiles with messages of peace (13.10). He likens them to workmen who plaster over a damaged wall in an attempt to disguise the peril of their situation. Ezekiel announces that God will break the plaster, wiping it from the wall with "hailstones" (אבני אלגביש) and "flooding rain" (גשם + שוטף; 13.11, 13), and cause the wall to fall (13.12, 14). In other words, God's judgments against his people will reveal the falsehood of comforting prophecies (13.14–15). The author of GO borrowed the expressions "hailstones" (אבני אלגביש) and "flooding rain" (גשם + שוטף), but he did not use them as *metaphors* for judgment. In 38.22, they appear as literal, supernatural manifestations of Yhwh's

[68] This example was also discussed above on p. 33.

[69] GO depicts events in sets of seven. Gog has seven allies. The weapons they leave behind provide fuel for seven years (39.9). It takes seven months to bury the dead (39.12, 14). The dead are designated as food for the wild animals with seven appellatives (39.18). On two occasions, seven terms are used to designate the enemy's military gear (38.4–5; 39.9). There are seven variations on the recognition formula (38.13, 23; 39.6, 7 [bis], 22, 28), and so on. The list of judgments in 38.21–22 also equals seven, if, as I have argued, the author expects us to understand בדבר ובדם as two judgments, "with blood and with pestilence."

power. Yhwh will destroy Gog with earthquake, flood, hailstones, and brimstone.

The author of GO appropriated many locutions from the book of Ezekiel, including many unique Ezekielian locutions. As these six examples illustrate, however, the author sometimes utilized locutions in ways that are discordant with the rest of the book. In several of these cases, language from Ezekiel is used to dress up tropes or topoi derived from other biblical books.[70] This evidence, taken with the evidence from discordant vocabulary choices, furthers the suggestion that the author of GO is not to be identified with the person or school responsible for most of the book.[71]

III. Conclusion

GO exhibits extensive evidence that a unique hand was involved in its production. Despite the best efforts of the composer (or composers) to coordinate the language and style of GO to the broader context of Ezekiel, many small points of discontinuity remain. A catalogue of the discontinuities in vocabulary choice and use shows that the fractures in the Ezekielian façade are widely distributed across Ezek 38–39 (38.4, 8 [bis], 10, 13, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22 [bis]; 39.11, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28 [bis]). They are not restricted to one or two pericopae or to an identifiable redactional layer. In the following section, I will explore supporting evidence that GO is an addition to Ezekiel. Included in this evidence are good reasons to uphold the position that GO was added to the book of Ezekiel as a discrete block of text, beginning in 38.1 and ending in 39.29.

C. Supporting Evidence That the Gog Oracles Were Added to Ezekiel

My argument to this point – that the author of GO borrowed locutions and compositional techniques from a wide array of Ezekiel's oracles in order to craft a text that mirrors Ezekiel's style – has a significant implication for the composition history of the book. It implies that GO has been added to a version of the *book* of Ezekiel, one which corresponds in large part with the book that we now have. This follows from the prior conclusion that the

[70] In ch. 5 below, we will see many more examples of this habit, i.e., the composer of GO often uses language that is distinctive of one text to describe a trope or theme derived from another text altogether.

[71] For an important qualification of this point see p. 83 n.108.

author mined the linguistic building blocks of GO from almost every chapter of Ezekiel.[72]

In the following pages I wish to buttress this implication by examining certain discontinuities within the book of Ezekiel that have been created by the presence of GO. Two discontinuities are discussed here: (1) the depiction of the restoration community in GO, which does not correspond with its description in 33.1–37.28; (2) the interruption, created by GO, between the summary of the restoration in 37.24–28 and its visionary depiction in chapters 40–48.[73] Following my brief observations about these two discontinuities, I will examine supporting evidence from the earliest Hebrew MSS and from the versions that GO was a late addition to the book and that the location of GO (as chs. 38 and 39) was not firmly established in the extant textual traditions until sometime after the turn of the Common Era.

I. The Restoration Community in the Gog Oracles

With few exceptions, the oracles in Ezek 1–32 address the circumstances of the deportees of the first exile, the Judeans remaining in Judah and Jerusalem under Babylonian suzerainty, and the contemporary nations.[74] Ezekiel 33–34 describes the fall of Jerusalem and announces continuing judgment on those "inhabiting the ruins of the land" (33.24) and on the leaders of Israel whose abuses instigated the second deportation (34.1–10, 17–22). Ezekiel 34.11–16, which interrupts these judgments, is the first of several oracles about the restoration. The restoration oracles discuss the return from exile (ch. 34), the peaceful resettlement of the land (ch. 34), the restoration of the Davidic monarchy (chs. 34, 37), the establishment of a covenant of peace (chs. 34, 36), the inward re-creation and multiplication of the people of Israel (chs. 36, 37), the resurrection of a unified nation (ch.

[72] The only chapters that did not surface in our study of Ezekielian locutions were 1, 2, 9, and 41. Also notable in its absence is Ezek 36.23c–38, which is missing from Pap[967]. This subject will be discussed below, pp. 77–83.

[73] E.g., Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 2; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 1–19* (WBC 29a; Waco: Word, 1994), xxxiii; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: From the Settlement in the Land to the Hellenistic Period,* 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 178; *Ezekiel* (IBC; Atlanta: Westminster/John Knox, 1990), 179–80; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 406–7; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 519–20; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, "Das Buch Ezechiel," in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 7th ed. (ed. E. Zenger; KST 1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 499, 503; B. Lang, *Ezechiel*, 106, 111–12; K.-F. Pohlmann, *Ezechielstudien*, 86–88, 107, 112, 122, 134; K. von Rabenau, "Die Entstehung," 676–77, 682; John W. Wevers, *Ezekiel* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 1, 5; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 296–98, 303–4, 310.

[74] Occasional exceptions, sometimes excised as later editorial additions, include 11.16–21, 16.60–63, 17.22–24, and 20.40–44 (e.g., Herrmann, *Ezechielstudien*, 8–28).

37), the rebuilding of the temple and revival of the cult (chs. 37, 40–48), and the return of the divine presence (ch. 43).

The situation for the returnees at the time of Gog's invasion does not reflect most of these benefits.[75] In GO, the Israelites who are living in the land are described in 38.8–12:

(8) After many days you will be summoned. In the last years you will come to the land – the one brought back from the sword, gathered out of many peoples – to the mountains of Israel, which were a perpetual waste. But they[76] were brought forth out of the nations, and they [now] dwell securely, all of them. (9) You will go up. Like a storm you will come. You will be like a cloud covering the land, you, and all your hordes, and many people with you.

(10) Thus says the Lord Yhwh, "It will happen in that day that ideas will come into your mind, and you will formulate an evil plan. (11) And you will say, 'I will go up against the countryside. I will come against those at rest, secure inhabitants, all of them dwelling without a wall, who have neither bar nor gates, (12) in order to take spoil, and in order to collect booty' – in order to turn your hand against the desolate places which are inhabited, and against the people regathered from the nations, who have acquired cattle and goods, inhabitants in the navel of the earth."

This text presents a picture of humble resettlement. There has been a return from Diaspora and the promise of peaceful resettlement has been accomplished (28.25–26; 34.25–31). The returnees live in unfortified smallholdings, and the land is still characterized as an "inhabited waste."[77] Missing from this description (and the whole of GO) are Jerusalem, the temple, the cult, the Davidic king, the return of all Israel from Diaspora, the divine presence, the new covenant, the covenant blessings (especially the fertility of the land and people), and the inward transformation of the people.[78]

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[75] A few interpreters understand the events in Ezek 38–39 as occurring after the completion of the restoration described in chs. 33–37. Ewald ("Hézeqiél," 348) is the first interpreter to take this position, followed by Hengstenberg (*Ezekiel*, 329–30), Ahroni ("Gog Prophecy," 9), Brevard S. Childs (*Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979], 366–67) and Cook (*Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 100). This judgment is based upon the order of chapters in the MT (discussed below) and the assumption that the events in 33–39 are presented chronologically.

[76] MT is singular (היא), referring to the personified land.

[77] For פרזות (always plural) BDB offers, "hamlet, open region," i.e., unwalled town. *HALOT* corrects this to "the open country, as distinct from unwalled towns" (unwalled towns are ערי פרזות). As Fohrer observed (*Ezechiel*, 216), this description of the condition of the land conflicts with 36.35, "The land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined towns are now inhabited and fortified (בצרות)."

[78] There is some question about the reliability of the description of the land as expressed in 38.10–13. The oracle presents Israel as helpless before Gog; her salvation will clearly be of God's doing. So, the description of the physical conditions of the land as

The insertion of GO profoundly alters the book's depiction of the process of restoration. In GO only a small part of the restoration oracles has been fulfilled. The epilogue to GO, 39.25–29, clarifies that the full restoration will only materialize after the invasion and defeat of Gog and his confederates in the אחרית השנים (38.8).[79] GO, then, effectively divides the restoration into two periods.[80] This division is not suggested in any of Ezekiel's restoration oracles, neither those before GO (in chs. 11, 16, 20, 28, 34–37) nor those after it (40–48).

II. Interruption between Ezekiel 37.24–28 and Ezekiel 40–48

Not only does GO present a different picture of the restoration than chapters 34–37 and 40–48, it interrupts the logical flow from 37.24–28 to 40–48. As George Adam Cooke observed, "the last two chapters [38–39] appear to be a later insertion . . . they disturb the peace which has settled down upon restored Israel."[81] The end of chapter 37 (vv. 24–28) provides a summary of the restoration promises in chapters 34–37 and a bridge to their visionary depiction in chapters 40–48.[82]

(24) My servant David will be king over them, and they will all have one shepherd. They will follow my ordinances and be careful to observe my statutes. (25) They will live in the land that I gave to my servant Jacob, in which your ancestors lived. They and their children and their children's children will live there forever, and my servant David will be their prince forever. (26) I will make a covenant of peace with them; it will be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my

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defenseless and unreconstructed appears to be reliable (38.8, 11, 12). Gog, though, expresses a desire to plunder Israel for "spoil," "cattle and goods" (38.12). The spectator nations depict it even more grandly as "great spoil," "silver, gold, cattle, and goods" (38.13). Gog's and his allies' words and intentions in 38.10–13 appear to be crafted, in part, to depict them as irrational. Gog does not know what truly motivates him (contrast 38.4 with 38.10–12). He and his allies speak repeatedly of plunder (38.12, 13; 39.10), but they recognize that Israel is still unreconstructed (38.8, 11, 12). More irrational yet, Gog throws a massive host, drawn from all quarters of the world, against this small, defenseless population (38.4–7, 15–16).

[79] Ezek 39.25a is critical in this regard: עתה אשיב את שבות יעקב, "*then* I will restore the fortunes of Jacob." One of the few scholars who is clear on this point is Driver (*Introduction*, 291).

[80] The Peshitta does this explicitly. It includes the following superscription: "Against those of the house of Gog and Magog who came up *against those who had returned from Babylon*."

[81] Cooke, *Ezekiel*, xxv.

[82] Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 519; Hölscher, *Hesekiel*, 177; Richard Kraetzschmar, *Das Buch Ezechiel, übersetzt und erklärt*, 3d ed. (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900) xii; Johann Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 530. Cf. Umberto Cassuto, "The Arrangement of the Book of Ezekiel," in *Bible* (BOS 1; trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 227–28.

sanctuary among them forevermore. (27) My dwelling place will be with them, and I will be their God, and they will be my people. (28) Then the nations will know that I am Yhwh who sanctifies Israel, when my sanctuary is among them forevermore.

As a summary, this paragraph includes or presumes all of the primary restoration promises from chapters 34–37: return, peaceful resettlement, restoration of the Davidic monarchy, establishment of a covenant of peace, the inward re-creation and multiplication of the people of Israel, resurrection of the nation, rebuilding of the temple, and revival of the cult. It serves as a bridge to chapters 40–48 with its references to "my sanctuary" and "my dwelling place." The rebuilding of the temple is never directly mentioned in Ezekiel apart from 37.26–27 and chapters 40–48.[83] In other words, GO stands between the oracles of restoration (chs. 34–37) and the vision of their enactment (chs. 40–48).

This has two implications that are relevant to my argument. First, GO functions within the book as a self-contained, unified text. One cannot remove only a portion of GO and reestablish the flow of the argument from 34–37 to 40–48. Critically speaking, it must be accepted or rejected as a whole. For now, it is enough to note that the boundaries of GO are clearly defined (38.1 and 39.29). Second, GO is not necessary to the internal argument of the book. In the restoration oracles in chapters 34–37 and in chapters 40–48, the book's major themes and arguments are all brought to resolution. GO introduces a new subject: the eschatological vindication of Israel.[84] This subject is not addressed elsewhere in the book. Ezekiel's restoration oracles are focused, single-mindedly, on the internal conversation between God and prophet. They have *the people's* restoration and future in view, not their ultimate vindication or the ultimate fate of the nations.[85]

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[83] Ezek 20.40–41 is the only other explicit reference to restored cult practice in Ezek 1–39. "But in my holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel," says the Lord Yhwh, "there all the house of Israel will serve me, everyone in the land. There I will accept them, and there I will seek your offerings, and the firstfruits of your offerings, with all your holy things. With a soothing aroma I will accept you, when I bring you out from the people, and gather you out of the lands where you were scattered among them. And I will sanctify myself among you before the eyes of the nations."

[84] Marvin Sweeney argues that GO is necessary to the book because "the burning and consumption of the corpses of Gog's army purifies the land and thereby makes it possible for the Temple to be restored in Ezekiel 40–48" ("Preface," in *Transforming Visions: Transformation of Text, Tradition, and Theology in Ezekiel* [ed. William A. Tooman and Michael A. Lyons; PTMS 127; Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2010], xix). If GO was absent from the book, the land would never be defiled by the corpses of Gog's host and would not need purification.

[85] This is in accord with the book's point of view. Ezekiel is the most intimate of prophetic books. Perceptually, the reader receives its oracles together with the prophet. Their subsequent announcement and fulfillment are only peripherally in view. The point

III. Evidence from the Versions

The suspicion that GO has been inserted into Ezekiel finds some support in the versions, in particular from Papyrus^{967}. Papyrus^{967} is a Greek translation that dates from the second or third century C.E.[86] It includes (in order) Ezekiel, Daniel, Suzanna, Bel, and Esther, and it preserves an edition of the book that is closer to the OG than any other LXX witness.[87] At some point the manuscript was divided. Today the manuscript is preserved in collections held in Princeton, Dublin, Madrid, Barcelona, and Cologne.[88] When its parts are reassembled, we find that nearly all of Ezek 11.25–48.35 has been preserved.

The Ezekiel text of Pap^{967} reflects an edition of the book that differs from the MT edition in length and arrangement.[89] There are two primary

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of view in GO is not on the dialogue between God and his prophet; it is an external, third-person depiction of the future judgment of the nations.

[86] Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 5. The earliest evidence for a Greek translation of Ezekiel is a quotation in a letter from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth in 96 C.E., and another in 2 Cor 6.16–18, which is conflated with Lev 26.12. (See Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914], 26, 390, 407.) Septuagint scholars speculate that Ezekiel was first translated into Greek between 300 and 200 B.C.E.

[87] Papyrus^{967} and LXX^{B} are the only complete pre-Hexaplaric MSS of LXX-Ezekiel. As Johnson says, Pap^{967} is "undoubtedly older than any other MS; it probably represents the original LXX better than others" (Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 40, compare Gehman's judgment on pp. 77–79. See also: Josef Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung des Chester Beatty-Scheide Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *ZAW* 61 [1945–48]: 76–94; *Ezechiel*, 2d ed. [*Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* 16/1, with addendum by D. Fraenkel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977], 23–28, 331–32; J. Barton Payne, "The Relationship of the Chester Beatty Papyri of Ezekiel to Codex Vaticanus," *JBL* 68 [1949]: 251–65; Leslie J. McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity* [SBLSCS 18; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985], 10–15); Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36–39* (VTSup122; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 207–10.

[88] Each portion has been published independently: Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. 7: *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther: Text*; fasc. 8: *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther: Plates* (London: Emery Walker, 1937–38; reprint, Dublin, 1958). Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*; L. G. Jahn, *Der griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (PTA 15; Bonn: R. Habelt, 1972); M. Fernández Galiano, "Nuevas páginas del códice 967 del A. T. griego (Ez 28, 19–43, 9)," *SPap* 10 (1971): 7–76. The first edition of Ezekiel in the Göttingen Septuagint edited by Ziegler (1952) only took into account the Chester Beatty and Scheide portions of the manuscript. The 2d edition (1977) included an appendix by Fraenkel on the pages held in Madrid, Barcelona, and Cologne.

[89] The most thorough introductions to Pap^{967} of Ezekiel are Peter Schwagmeier, *Untersuchungen zu Textgeschichte und Entstehung des Ezechielbuches in masoretischer*

differences between Pap^{967} of Ezekiel and MT-Ezekiel that impact this study. First, in Pap^{967} GO follows 36.23b and precedes chapter 37, the vision of the resurrection of dry bones and sign act of the two sticks. This results in the following order of chapters in the MT: 1–36.23b, 38–39, 37, 40–48.[90] In this arrangement, GO does not interrupt between the end of chapter 37 and chapters 40–48, as discussed above. Second, there are numerous passages in MT-Ezekiel that are absent in Pap^{967}. The longest minuses, which have received the most attention, are 12.26–28, 32.24b–26, and 36.23c–38.[91] The papyrus is not the only evidence for this alternative text edition. Codex Wirceburgensis (*W*), the earliest and best preserved copy of the Vetus Latina of Ezekiel (ca. 6th c. C.E.), is a related witness.[92]

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und griechischer Überlieferung (Ph.D. diss.; University of Zürich, 2004) and Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 207–64.

[90] Pohlmann argues for the compositional priority of the order and arrangement of Pap^{967} (*Ezechielstudien,* 86–88; 107, 112, 122, 134). Johann Lust, following Pohlmann's lead, has argued that Pap^{967} represents a more logical arrangement of the oracles of restoration ("The Spirit of the Lord or the Wrath of the Lord? Ezekiel 39, 29." *ETL* 78/1 (2002): 149–50; cf. the similar, though more modest, argument of W. Baumgartner in *Zum Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt* [Leiden: Brill, 1959], 361). Lust argues, first, that ch. 37, if it follows ch. 39, is a depiction of the resurrected Israelites who died in the war with Gog. Second, he argues that chs. 34 and 37 form an *inclusio* around the oracles of restoration in Pap^{967}, which are structured chiastically:

A Ch. 34: God heals Israel, represented as a flock. He promises a Davidic savior and a covenant of peace.

B 34.28–31: Israel "will dwell securely with none to make them afraid."

C Chs. 35–36: Oracles against Edom, a mythological enemy of Israel. God promises to vindicate his name.

C′ Chs. 38–39: Oracles against Gog, a mythological threat against Israel. God promises to vindicate his name.

B′ 39.26–29: Israel "will dwell securely, with none to make them afraid."

A′ Chs. 37: God revitalizes Israel, giving his spirit to the dry bones. He promises a Davidic savior and a covenant of peace.

This schema overlooks the facts that the Israelites do not fight in GO and that the resurrection in ch. 37 is clearly explained as an image of the restoration and inward recreation of the people, not a recovery from the carnage of battle (37.11–14).

[91] Though this is not directly relevant to the principal arguments of this study, I am persuaded that the major pluses in MT were absent in the *Vorlage* of OG and I do not consider them to be a part of the edition of the book of Ezekiel to which GO was affixed. Papyrus^{967}, then, preserves a text that is shorter than any other witness (Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 18; Tov, "Recensional Differences," 92n14; Johann Lust, "Major Divergences between LXX and MT in Ezekiel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible* [ed. A. Schenker; Atlanta: Scholars, 2003], 83–92).

[92] Ernestus Ranke, *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium. Antiquissimae Veteris Testamenti Versionis Latinae Fragmenta* (Vienna: Hof- und Universitatsbuchhandler Braumüller, 1871); Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 45. Though *W* and Pap^{967} preserve the same text edition, *W* is not directly dependent upon Pap^{967} (see Kase's evidence in Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 47; Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40," 518).

Apart from these two differences, the translation of Ezekiel represented by Pap^{967} and LXX^{B} is a literal, though not concordant, rendering of more or less the same consonantal text represented in the MT, though the MT is expansionistic.[93] The differences between LXX-Ezekiel and MT-Ezekiel are largely quantitative not qualitative.[94] There appears to be a fairly straightforward linear development from the *Vorlage* of Pap^{967} and LXX^{B} to the proto-MT.[95] The MT and LXX of Ezekiel do not appear to have had different *Vorlagen*. As Tov concluded, "We are confronted here with different stages in the literary development of the book (preserved in textual witnesses)."[96]

The mobility of GO in the manuscript tradition, appearing in some cases before chapter 37 and in other cases before chapter 40, has implications for the argument of this chapter. The variance in the order of chapters in MT

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[93] It is literal in the sense that it attempts a word-for-word translation, usually replicating the word order of the Hebrew text. It is not concordant in that it does not attempt to use the same Greek word or root for every occurrence of an individual Hebrew word. On the character of the translation, see Ziegler ("Die Bedeutung," 76–94; "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta," *Bib* 34 [1953]: 435–55), Tov ("Recensional Differences," 89–101), and Johann Lust ("The Use of Textual Witnesses for the Establishment of the Text: The Shorter and Longer Texts of Ezekiel," in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism in their Interrelation* (ed. J. Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986], 7–20; "Final Text," 48–54). This judgment holds for each of the translators of LXX Ezekiel, regardless of whether one recognizes two or three translators for the book. (For a discussion of this problem and relevant research see McGregor, *Greek Text*, 5–19.)

[94] Tov, "Recensional Differences," 101.

[95] The text of LXX^{B} is arranged in the same order as the MT and includes all three of the major pluses in the MT (12.26–28; 32.24b–26; 36.23c–38). Zeigler concluded that Pap^{967} and LXX^{B} are both descendants of OG-Ezekiel, but LXX^{B} represents a revision of LXX toward the MT, at least in respect to arrangement and inclusion of the major MT pluses (Ziegler, "Die Bedeutung," 93–4; see also Kase's conclusion in Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 47). The exact relationship of LXX^{B}-Ezekiel to MT-Ezekiel, however, has been disputed. Carl Cornill argued that LXX^{B} was a revision toward MT, but concluded that LXX^{B} was a Hexaplaric text (*Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1886], 4–6). Ziegler (*Ezechiel*, 23–28) and Johnson et al. (*Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 40–42, 73–79) have disputed this, arguing instead for a direct line of descent from Pap^{967} to LXX^{B} to MT. The recent study by Hector M. Patmore makes the fundamental mistake of confusing different editions of a book with different *Vorlagen* ("The Shorter and Longer Texts of Ezekiel: The Implications of the Manuscript Finds from Masada and Qumran," *JSOT* 32/2 [2007]: 231–42, esp. 240–42).

[96] Tov, "Recensional Differences," 101; so also Adalbert Merx, "Der Werth der Septuaginta für die Textkritik des Alten Testaments an Ezechiel aufgezeigt," *JPrTh* 9 (1883): 75; Wevers, *Ezekiel*, 30.

and Pap^{967} has suggested to some critics that GO was added to the book of Ezekiel late in its compositional history.[97]

Scholars who argue that GO is a product of Ezekiel or his immediate circle tend to dismiss the evidence of Pap^{967} or omit any discussion of it.[98] Those who hold this view almost invariably argue for the greater antiquity of the MT, in particular its chapter order. It is most often asserted that the order of chapters in Pap^{967} is the result of transposed pages.[99] This judgment is highly unlikely. As P–M. Bogaert has pointed out, the same arrangement is attested in *W*. In *W*, chapter 40 begins in mid-column (following ch. 37), which leaves no room for the theory of transposed pages in that codex.[100] Nor does it appear that Pap^{967} and *W* are both descended from a parent text in which the pages were transposed. The evidence suggests that the two manuscripts had different progenitors. For example, it has been noted that: (1) *W* contains more unique readings than any other OL version of Ezekiel; (2) *W* and Pap^{967} agree with one another against other LXX texts less often than do Jerome (Hier) and Pap^{967}; (3) many minuses in Pap^{967} (vis-à-vis MT) do appear in *W*.[101] In short, Pap^{967} and *W* are independent witnesses to an edition of the book of Ezekiel that placed GO before chapter 37.

Lust and Crane argue for the superiority of the order of chapters in Pap^{967}. For them, GO logically follows 35.1–36.23b, and the MT is viewed as revision of the original order.[102] Lust argues:

> Both sections open with the same formula: "Son of man, set your face against . . ." (35.2; 38.2). It is perhaps even more remarkable that, in both cases, Israel's enemy is given

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[97] E.g., Pohlmann, *Ezechielstudien,* 86–88; *Der Prophet Hezekiel/Ezechiel 20–48* (ATD 22.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 487–91; Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 81–110, esp. 81–89.

[98] The most notable example of the first position is Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel 25–48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 337–43. He has argued extensively against Pap^{967} as a witness to "the original Hebrew text." But he does not indicate which Hebrew text he has in mind (MT? *Vorlage* of OG?) or what he means by "original" (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 339–342). Other scholars dismiss the evidence of Pap^{967} on the grounds that it is late, i.e., second–third centuries C.E. (e.g., Fitzpatrick, *Disarmament*, 40–41). This criticism fails to distinguish between the date of a manuscript and the date of a reading. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 1983), Leslie C. Allen (*Ezekiel 20–48* [WBC; 29b. Waco: Word, 1990]), and Moshe Greenberg (*Ezekiel 21–37* [AB 22A; New York: Doubleday, 1997]), on the other hand, never mention the alternative chapter order.

[99] E.g., Floyd V. Filson, "The Omission of Ezek. 12:26–28 and 36:23b–38 in Codex 967," *JBL* 62 (1943): 27–32; Wevers, *Ezekiel*, 273; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 337–43.

[100] P.-M. Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante: Ezéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967," *Bib* 59 (1978): 384–95.

[101] See Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 44–45; Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40," 518.

[102] Crane offers a lengthy discussion of how this revision may have come about (*Israel's Restoration*, 220–50).

more or less mythological features. They are not well defined historical nations, but typological representations of "the enemy". . . . Moreover, at the end of both the Edom and the Gog sections the mythological enemy disappears from the scene, while the author focuses on the relationship between the Lord and his people (36.8–23c; 39.21–19).[103]

Crane supplements Lust's argument:

The end of chapter 37 establishes a clear path for the Temple in chapter 40 with its references to "my sanctuary" (37:26) and "my dwelling place/tabernacle" (v. 27). In 𝔊^{967}'s chapter order, Israel is restored on the mountains of Israel (36.1–23b), the wars are now over with the "enemy" destroyed (38–39), Israel is resurrected into a united Davidic kingdom (37), the Temple is built and worship restored (40–48). The received chapter order does not offer this "flow" of thought and, in many ways, is less logical . . . We propose that in 𝔊^{967}'s chapter order, chapter 38 is an acceptable "continuation" from 36:23b, as it shows the way the Lord will vindicate his holiness: his judgment upon Gog (38–39), the raising up of his people (37:1–14), and their uniting as one nation under a Davidic shepherd-leader (37:15–28). Further evidence of continuation or fulfillment can be found in 𝔊^{967}'s order where 36:16–23b is followed by chapter 38 with its repeated references to God showing himself "holy" (cf. קדש in 36:23b and 38:16, 23; 39:7, 27). Also in 𝔊^{967}'s order, fulfillment of the nations knowing the Lord and his holiness (36:23b) can immediately be found in his judgment of Gog and his hordes in chapters 38–39. The idea of fulfillment is not seen in the received order, with the "dry bones" in 37 following 36.[104]

Lust and Crane, then, argue for the superiority of the chapter order in Pap^{967} and *W* (35.1–36.23b, 38–39, 37, 40–48) on theological and structural grounds.

The yield of Ezekiel MSS from the Judean desert, though meager, paints a different picture. Apart from the scroll from Cave 11, which cannot be unrolled, there are only a few fragments of Ezekiel from Caves 1, 3, and 4 (1Q9, 3Q1, 4Q73–75, 11Q4). Masada yielded a single manuscript, Mas-Ezek. All these fragments, by and large, agree with the more expansive MT, including, in so far as we can tell, its chapter arrangement.[105] In other

[103] Lust, "Spirit of the Lord," 149. Lust does not clearly define what he means by "mythological" or "typological."

[104] Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 218–19.

[105] Johann Lust, "Ezekiel Manuscripts at Qumran: Preliminary Edition of 4Q Ez a and b," in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Relationship* (ed. J. Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 90–100; Dominique Barthélemy, "Ézéchiel (Pl. XII)," in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 68–69; Maurice Baillet, "Ézéchiel (Pl. XVIII)," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân: exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre* (ed. Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux; DJD 3i; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 94; Judith Sanderson, "Ezekiel," in *Qumran Cave 4* X. *The Prophets* (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 209–20; Lawrence A. Sinclair, "A Qumran Biblical Fragment 4QEzeka (Ezek. 10,17–11,11)," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 99–105; Yigael Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (Jerusalem: Steimatzky's, 1966); Shemaryahu Talmon, *Masada*

words, all that we can say with confidence is that there were at least two editions of Ezekiel in circulation in the Second Temple period, and the two known editions remained in simultaneous circulation beyond the third century C.E.

It should be noted that there is additional evidence from the Targumim that both chapter arrangements were known to the Aramaic translators. In Num 11.26, when Eldad and Medad "prophesied in the camp," the Targum translators supply the content of the prophecy. In Targum Neofiti, they envision the end of days when Gog and Magog assault Jerusalem. In this Targum, the King Messiah is already present in the land, and defends the people from the invaders. This seems to reflect a reading of Ezekiel in which the messiah appears before the Gog invasion (34.23–24; 37.24–28). In Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, however, the resurrection of the dead (37.1–14) occurs *after* the war with Gog. The Targum reads:

> But the two prophesied as one and said: "Behold a king shall arise from the land of Magog at the end of days. He shall gather kings crowned with crowns, and prefects attired in silken clothing, and all the nations shall obey him. They shall prepare for war in the land of Israel against the sons of the exile. However, the Lord is near them at the hour of distress, and all of them will be killed by a burning breath in a consuming fire that comes from beneath the throne of Glory; and their corpses will fall on the mountains of Israel. Then all the wild animals and birds of heaven shall come and consume their bodies. And after this all the dead of Israel shall live [again] and shall delight themselves with the good which was hidden for them from the beginning. Then they shall receive the reward of their labors.[106]

The Targumim, then, support both streams of evidence from the Septuagint and Vetus Latina, on the one hand, and the Judean desert MSS, on the other. To recapitulate the point: there were at least two editions of the book of Ezekiel in simultaneous circulation, having different chapter arrangements, one attested by Pap^{967}, *W*, and Targum^{PS}, and the other attested by MT, MasEzek, the extant DSS fragments, and Targum Neofiti.

The varying order of chapters in the manuscripts and versions is relevant to my argument for two reasons. First, the long preservation of two competing arrangements of the book points to the fact that GO did not "fit" in any particular or obvious place in the book. This lends support to the suspicion that GO was added to the book of Ezekiel toward the end of its literary evolution.[107] Second, and perhaps more importantly, in both read-

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VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–65 Final Reports. Hebrew Fragments from Masada (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1999).

[106] Ernest G. Clark, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers, Translated with Notes* (ArBib 4; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992), 220–21.

[107] There are other clues, suggestive only, that the proto-MT edition of the book of Ezekiel stands at the end of a process of scribal adaptation. Josephus, e.g., reports that the prophet Ezekiel wrote two books (H. St. J. Thackeray ed., *Josephus with an English*

ing traditions (MT : MasEzek : DSS : Neofiti // Pap^{967} : *W* : Targum^{PJ}) the whole of GO, 38.1–39.29, appeared together, as a textual block. GO was recognized as a unified and self-contained text.

D. Preliminary Conclusions: The Reuse of Ezekiel in the Gog Oracles

At the beginning of the chapter, I introduced three arguments regarding GO's style and shape. First, I argued that GO mirrors Ezekiel's idiolect and compositional style. My main focus was on discrete locutions in GO that are unique to or distinctive of the book of Ezekiel. No less than sixty locutions were identified, many of which were employed multiple times within the two chapters of GO. Second, I argued that these similarities, though pervasive, are only cosmetic; they are an Ezekielian veneer on a unique composition. That is to say, even though many Ezekielian locutions appear in GO, they are sometimes used in ways that are discordant with Ezekiel. The cracks in the façade become more apparent when it is observed that certain vocabulary choices in GO break with Ezekiel's habits of expression. From these two strands of evidence, I concluded that the author of GO should not be identified with the prophet Ezekiel or the immediate "school" to whom the greater part of the book is attributed.[108] Finally, I examined three lines of evidence supporting the argument to this point: the depiction of the restoration community in GO, the break between 37.24–28 and 40–48, and the manuscripts and versions of Ezekiel. The supporting evidence suggests that GO was inserted into the book of Ezekiel, and that the likely boundaries of this insertion were 38.1 and 39.29. The evidence for this last argument is not yet definitive, nor does it shut the door to redactional activity *within* GO, a subject I will revisit in the next chapter.

Based on the evidence accumulated in this chapter, there are a number of observations that we can make about the form of GO. Most obviously, I have suggested that GO was composed, to a large degree, from bits and pieces of linguistic material that were ready-to-hand. The author used Eze-

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Translation by Ralph Marcus, Ph.D., vol. VI: *Jewish Antiquities, Books IX–XI* [LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937], 200–1).

[108] Of course, the author of GO identified with the writers of the book of Ezekiel to the degree that he attempted to join them in their literary enterprise. In this sense, he could be considered a part of Ezekiel's "school." My point here is that the author of GO uses language in ways that are demonstrably different from the authors and redactors who are responsible for the bulk of the book of Ezekiel. More will be said on this subject at the end of the next chapter.

kielian locutions like a craftsman uses tiles to design a mosaic. Despite the extensive textual reuse in GO, the borrowed locutions are not marked in any way. There are no citation formulae anywhere in GO. There is only the tacit admission in 38.17 that other oracles about Gog are available to the reader. Also, the borrowed locutions are brief – most are only two or three words in length. The longest Ezekielian locution in GO is the rather pedestrian formula: ויהי דבר יהוה אתי לאמר. Finally, even a cursory reading of GO reveals that none of the borrowed locutions receives an accompanying interpretation, either of the locution itself or of the source text. Rather they are building blocks. This will be examined in detail in chapter 3, but it appears at this point that the composer's primary motives were not overtly exegetical.

In the next chapter, I will widen the investigation of GO to examine the full extent of its scriptural language, borrowed from anywhere within the Tanak. This evidence will facilitate some more precise conclusions regarding the form and literary history of GO.

Chapter 3

Reuse of the Torah and Prophets in the Gog Oracles

I suggested in the last chapter that GO was produced by a unique hand, one that labored to coordinate the oracles with the linguistic and compositional style of the book of Ezekiel. This chapter advances this argument further. In it, I will examine locutions in GO that have been borrowed from outside of Ezekiel, from books within the Torah and Prophets. In the end, I will contend that the consistent compositional style of GO, in particular the way it is constructed from bits and pieces of antecedent texts, supports the conclusion that GO is a unified composition, the product of a single author. Further, it will be argued that the volume of material in GO that is borrowed from across the Tanak and the recombination of that material identifies GO as *pastiche*, perhaps the only pure example of such a text within the Hebrew Bible.

The author of GO is steeped in biblical language, and much of that language is distinctive of portions of the Torah and Prophets. The following lists identify locutions that (1) can be identified with a particular source text (other than Ezekiel) and (2) reappear in GO. These locutions, as we will see, were derived exclusively from the Torah and Prophets. No locution in GO can be definitively identified with a text from the Writings. In this section, the only goal is to identify distinctive language. I am not yet addressing tropes, themes, structures, or arguments. Neither am I making a claim that the author intends the borrowing to be noticed, nor am I making any claims about the author's purpose in pinching all this linguistic material. The significance of these locutions for the message and argument of GO will be examined in the next chapter.

A. Reuse of Locutions from the Torah

1. גוג / מגוג, *"Gog / Magog"* (38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 [2x], 11). The name גוג, "Gog," appears in Num 24.7 (LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, Theodotian, and Old Latin), 1 Chr 5.4 (MT), and Amos 7.1 (LXX). מגוג, "Ma-

gog," appears in Gen 10.2 (MT) and 1 Chr 1.5 (MT).[1] That GO is dependent upon the Table of Nations in Gen 10 is evident from the number of names that are common to the two texts (Meshek, Tubal, Cush, Put, Gomer, Togarmah, Sheba). In all likelihood Gen 10 is the source of the name "Magog" in GO. The author of GO, however, rendered "Magog" as a *mem*-preformative noun of location, not a personal name as in Gen 10.[2] Magog, in GO, is the homeland of Gog. The name "Gog" was derived from the Balaam Oracles. The connection between Num 24 and GO will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but both purport to be about the אחרית הימים, and both feature Gog as the eschatological enemy of Israel.

2. נשיא ראש, "chief prince" (Num 10.4; 36.1; Ezek 38.2; 39.1). In the book of Numbers, the title נשיא + ראש is reserved for the tribal chieftains of Israel ("princes, heads of the tribes of Israel," 10.4; "princes, heads of the ancestral houses," 36.1). The author of GO reapplies the phrase to Gog, perhaps mocking his status as "guard" of the nations (39.7).[3]
3. משך, תבל, כוש, ופוט, גמר, תוגרמה, שבא, דדן, תרשיש, *Meshek* (Gen 10.2; Ezek 27.13; 32.26 [MT]; 38.2, 3; 39.1; Pss 120:5; 126.6; 1 Chr 1.5), *Tubal,* (Gen 10.2; Ezek 27.13; 32.26 [MT]; 38.2, 3; 39.1; 1 Chr 1.5),[4] *Cush* (Gen 2.13; 10.6, 7, 8; 2 Kgs 19.9; Isa 11.11; 18.1; 20.3, 4, 5; 37.9; 43.3; 45.14; Jer 46.9; Ezek 29.10; 30.4, 5, 9; 38.5; Nah 3.9; Zeph 3.10; Pss 7.1; 68.32; 87.4; Job 28.19; Esth 1.1; 8.9; 1 Chr 1.8, 9, 10 [כושי, Zeph 2.12]), *Put* (Gen 10.6; Isa 66.19 [for MT פול]); Jer 46.9; Ezek 27.10; 30.5; 38.5; Neh 3.9; 1 Chr 1.8[5]), *Gomer* (Gen 10.2, 3; Ezek 38.6; Ps 57:3; 1 Chr 1:5, 6), *Togarmah* (Gen 10.3; Ezek 27.14; 38.6; 1 Chr 1.6), *Sheba* (Gen 10.7, 28; 25.3; 1 Kgs 10.1, 4, 10, 13; Ezek 27.22, 23; 38.13; Joel 4.8; 1 Chr 1.9, 22, 32; 2 Chr 9.1, 3, 9, 12), *Dedan* (Gen 25.3; Jer

[1] LXX^{B} has a unique reading in Deut 3.1, 13; 4.47, wherein King Og of Bashan is rendered Γωγ, and another in Sir 48.17, where Hezekiah is said to have brought Γωγ into the midst of Jerusalem. Further, LXX^{93} renders "Haman the Agagite" as "Haman the Gogite" (γωγαιον/γωγαιος) in Esth 3.1 and 9.24. For discussion of these variants see Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, 58–61, 71–74; Peter Höffken, "Jesus Sirachs Darstellung der Interaktion des Königs Hiskija und des Propheten Jesaja (Sir 48:17–25)," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 162–75; Lewis B. Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908), 69, 194.

[2] See Aarre Lauha, *Zaphon. Der Norden und die Nordvölker im Alten Testament* (AASF B49, 2; Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1943), 69 (cf. Jan G. Aalders, *Gog en Magog in Ezechiël* [Diss. theo.; Amsterdam, Kampen, 1951], 166).

[3] Num 9.15–10.28 is usually accepted as part of the P narrative, though this is not without dispute (see M. Noth, *Numbers* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968], 74–77), whereas 36.1 is part of an R^{P} appendix. It is impossible to tell if GO derived this locution from one source or the other.

[4] Meshek and Tubal are pluses in MT of 32.26.

[5] פוזי in Zeph 3.10 is often emended to פוט.

25.23; 49.8; Ezek 27.15, 20; 38.13), *Tarshish* (Gen 10.4; Isa 23.6; 66.19; Jer 10.9; Ezek 27.12; 38.13; Jonah 1.3 [3x]; 4.2; Ps 72.10; 1 Chr 1.7; 2 Chr 9.21; 20.36, 37[6]). The list of confederate nations that make up Gog's horde was adapted from the Table of Nations in Gen 10. Meshek, Tubal, Cush, Put, Gomer, Togarmah, and even Magog itself appear in Gen 10.2–8.[7] Most of these nations appear elsewhere in Ezekiel as well (32.26; 27.10, 14). In 38.13, three more nations appear as witnesses of Gog's invasion: Sheba, Dedan, and Tarshish. All three appear in Ezekiel (27.12, 15, 22–23) and Genesis (10.4, 7, 28; 25.3). The only nation from GO that is missing from Gen 10 is Persia, פרס, which appears in Ezek 27.10. As we will see, the author of GO crafted the roll of Gog's allied nations by combining names of nations in Gen 10 and Isa 66.19 with those of Tyre's trading partners in Ezek 27 and 32.[8]

4. תבוא אל ארץ, *"you will come to a land"* (Lev 14.34; Num 15.2; 34.2; Deut 8.7 [*hiphil* with God as subject]; 17.14; 18.9; 26.1; 32.52 [cf. 4.21; 26.3; 27.3]; Ezek 38.8 [cf. 38.16]). This is a stereotyped expression in the Torah based upon the promise that God would bring the people into Canaan (e.g., Exod 6.8). This exact locution (and variations on it) is particularly common in Deuteronomy. Excluding GO, it does not occur outside of the Torah.
5. מקבצת מעמים, *"gathered out of the peoples"* (Deut 30.3; Ezek 11.17; 29.13; 38.8). This expression is found in the promises of covenant fidelity in Deut 30 (וקבצך מכל עמים). That GO derived the locution from Deuteronomy is suggested by the fact that many other elements from the covenant blessings, curses, promises, and cautions in Deut 28–32 are repeated in GO. Several of these Deuteronomic locutions never appear elsewhere in Ezekiel (Ezek 39.4 // Deut 28.26; Ezek 39.23 // Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20; 32.51; Ezek 39.26 // Deut 32.51; Ezek 39.29 // Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20; see below for details).
6. מעמים הוצאה, *"brought forth out of the nations"* (Exod 3.10, 12; 7.4; 12.31 [cf. 11.8]; Josh 5.5; Ezek 38.8). The locution יצא + עם is a signature of the exodus story. Variations include: "brought forth the people" (e.g., 3.10), and "brought forth from Egypt" (e.g., 3.12). Outside of the exodus story, it only occurs in Josh 5.5 (where the locution is used as a title for the generation that came from Egypt) and here in GO.

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[6] Note the collocation "ships of Tarshish," אניות תרשיש, which appears, e.g., in 1 Kgs 10.22; 22.49; Isa 2.16; 23.1, 14; 60.9; Ps 48.8; 2 Chr 9.21; 20.36.

[7] It is entirely possible that the appearance of "Magog" in Gen 10 drew the author's attention to "Gog" in Num 24.

[8] Compare the fixed locutions משך ותבל, "Meshek and Tubal," and סחרי תרשיש, "merchants of Tarshish" discussed under "Unique Locutions" in ch. 2.

7. ישבו לבטח, *"dwell securely"* (Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 [bis]; 34.25, 27 [substituting היה for ישב], 28; 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26). This is an H locution, used in several contexts in Ezekiel, but most commonly in GO.[9] GO is replete with H locutions including: אין חומה, "without a wall" (38.11; #10); לעיני הגוים, "before the eyes of the nations" (38.16, 23; 39.27; #15); שם קדשי, "my holy name" (39.7, 25; #16); שם קדשי + חלל "profane (my holy) name" (39.7; #17); מעלו בי, "they were unfaithful to me" (39.23, 26; #24); אין מחריד, "none who terrifies" (39.26; #27); אתם מארצות איבים + קבץ, "gather them from the lands of their enemies" (39.27; #28); and נקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים, "I will display my holiness in them before the eyes of the nations" (39.27; #29).[10]
8. פרז/ות, *"open countryside / homestead(s)"* (Deut 3.5; 1 Sam 6.18; Ezek 38.11; Zech 2.8; Esth 9.19).[11] GO clearly derived this locution from Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 3.5 and Ezek 38.11 share not only this rare term but a number of other locutions as well:
   - Ezek 38.11 ". . . I will go up against the countryside (פרזות); I will come against those at rest, secure inhabitants, all of them dwelling without a wall (חומה), and they have neither bar (בריח) nor gates (דלתים)."
   - Deut 3.5 "All these were fortress towns with high *walls* (חומה), double *gates* (דלתים), and *bars* (בריח), besides a great many *homesteads* (פרזי)."
9. אין חומה, *"without a wall"* (Lev 25.31; Ezek 38.11; Prov 25.28). This is the only H locution in GO that does not also appear elsewhere in Ezekiel. That GO derived it from H is also indicated by two things: (1) the similar combination "without a wall" (אין חומה) + "open country" (על שדה הארץ יחשב, Lev 25.31; על ארץ פרזות, Ezek 38.11) found in both, and (2) the close proximity of the locution in GO to other H locutions (ישבו לבטח), 38.8; לעיני הגוים, 38.16).[12]

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[9] This locution was also picked up by other authors and reappears in Deut 12.10; Judg 18.7; 1 Sam 12.11; 1 Kgs 5.5; Isa 47.8; Jer 32.37; 49.31; Zeph 2.15; Zech 14.11; Ps 4.9; and Prov 3.29.

[10] For a list of locutions that H and Ezekiel share, see Bruno Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeits-Gesetz Lev. XVII–XXVI: Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (Erfurt: Hugo Güther, 1893), 81–88, 108–9, 121–24; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 166–86.

[11] For פרזה BDB offers, "hamlet, open region," i.e., unwalled town. *HALOT* corrects this to "the open country, as distinct from unwalled towns" (unwalled towns are ערי הפרזות). People who live on homesteads, outside of towns or villages, are referred to collectively as פרזון (Judg 5.7, 11).

[12] In my dissertation (2006), I reached the conclusion that all of the H locutions in GO were derived from texts within Ezekiel, but I have since concluded that GO has independent knowledge of H, as indicated by locutions like this one.

10. ובריח ודלתים, *"bar and gate"* (Deut 3.5; Ezek 38.11). See comment on פרזי/ות above (#8).
11. מקנה וקנין, *"cattle and goods"* (Gen 31.18; 34.23; 36.6; Ezek 38.12, 13 [cf. Jer 49.32]).[13] This expression is unknown in Ezekiel, outside of GO. It is a non-P locution, common to the patriarchal stories. The author of GO was aware of Genesis, including its P and non-P elements, as can be seen by the reuse of elements from both (see # 9, 13, 14).
12. באחרית הימים, *"in the latter days"* (Gen 49.1; Num 24.14; Deut 4.30; 31.29; Isa 2.2; Jer 23.20; 30.24; 48.47; 49.39; Ezek 38.16; Hos 3.5; Mic 4.1; Dan 10.14). The authors of Ezekiel routinely refer to the future using the generic temporal designation "in that day," ביום ההוא (20.6; 23.38, 39; 24.26, 27; 29.21; 30.9; 38.10, 14, 18, 19; 39.11; 45.22). On two occasions, the author of GO opts for a rare, semantically loaded phrase: "in the latter days," באחרית הימים (38.16), and a unique variation on this formula, "in the latter years," באחרית השנים (38.8). The author of GO utilizes the phrase באחרית הימים because Num 23.14 associates Balaam's oracles with "the latter days," and the character Gog was derived from the Balaam Oracles (see entry #1 מגוג / גוג, and pp. 139–43). On the translation of this locution, see the excursus at the end of this section.
13. דגי הים + עוף השמים + חית השדה + הרמש הרמש + על האדמה, "*fish of the sea + birds of the air + beasts of the field + creeping things + upon the earth*" (Gen 1.26, 28; Ezek 38.20). There are many lists of living things in the HB. These five elements, presented in this order, only appear in Gen 1.26, 28 (abbreviated), and GO. There are two slight variations in the vocabulary of the two texts. For "beast of the field," Gen 1.26 uses בהמה, and Gen 1.28 uses חית. For "upon the earth," Gen 1.26 uses על ארץ, whereas the author of GO opts for האדמה, Ezekiel's preferred term.
14. אש וגפרית אמטיר, "*I will cause fire and brimstone to rain*" (Gen 19.24; Ezek 38.22). This cosmic weapon, which Yhwh hurls at Gog, is only found in Gen 19.24 in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah (. . . המטיר גפרית ואש).[14]
15. לעיני גוים, *"before the eyes of the nations"* (Lev 26.45; Ezek 5.8; 20.9, 14, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25; 36.23; 38.23; 39.27 [cf. 38.16 עיניהם]; Ps 98.2 [cf. Isa 52.10; Pss 66.7; 79.10; 2 Chr 32.23]). This H locution appears many times in Ezekiel and two times in GO (see #7 above). There is a

[13] וקנין is not represented in LXX, either here or in v. 13. The translator appears to have telescoped the two terms (מקנה וקנין) into a single one κτήσεις.

[14] The same locution appears in Ps 11.6, but it reflects a different development of the image. The psalmist envisions God testing the wicked, blending the images of raining fire and purifying metal. It reads, "Upon the wicked he will rain *coal* (read פֶּחָם with Symmachus), fire, and brimstone, and burning wind shall be the portion of their cup."

variation on this locution in Ezek 38.16, "before their eyes," לעיניהם, referring to the nations who make up Gog's host.[15]

16. שם קדשי *"my holy name"* (Lev 20.3; 22.2, 32; Ezek 20.39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7, 25; 43.7, 8; Amos 2.7). This is one of several locutions that Ezekiel derived from the H corpus and then utilized more extensively than the authors of H did. Alternations on this phrase in the second and third persons ("your holy name"; "his holy name") also recur in the cult language of Psalms and Chronicles (Pss 33.21; 103.1; 105.3; 106.47; 145.21; 1 Chr 16.10, 35; 29.16).[16]
17. (קדשי) שם + חלל, *"defile + (my holy) name"* (Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; 22.2, 32; Jer 34.16; Ezek 20.9, 14, 22, 39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7; Amos 2.7). Defiling the name of God is yet another priestly notion that appears most frequently in Leviticus and Ezekiel. Ezekiel characterizes all of Israel's past errors as having defiled God's name "before the nations" (ch. 20), and argues that by her behavior in exile she has continued to defile his name "among the nations" (ch. 36).
18. כבד (1st person, *niphal*) with God as speaker, *"I will gain glory for myself / manifest my glory"* (Exod 14.4, 17, 18; Lev 10.3; Ezek 28.22; 39.13 [contrast Isa 23.9].) The verb כבד (N) is used in the Torah when God acts in judgment to protect his sanctity. It occurs three times in the exodus story and once when the fire of the presence consumes Nadab and Abihu. It also occurs in the oracle against Sidon in Ezek 28.22. In GO, the entire episode is summed up as the "day when I gain glory for myself (בכבדי)."
19. קבר / מקברים *"undertakers / grave"* (Num 19.16; 33.4; Jer 14.16; Ezek 39.14, 15). See discussion in #20.
20. עצם אדם, *"human bones"* (Num 19.16; Ezek 39.15 [cf. Ezek 6.5; 24.4, 5, 10; 37.1–10 (10x)]). Numbers 19.14–19 describes the impurity caused by corpses and their remedy. The subject of the pericope in Ezek 39.11–16, the burial of the dead and repurification of the land, was inspired by Num 19.16, in particular. For example, compare Num 19.16 with 39.15b–16:

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[15] The full line of Ezek 39.16 reads בהקדשי בך לעיניהם גוג, "when I sanctify myself in you, before their eyes, O Gog." The combination לעינים + (reflexive) קדש is only found in Ezek 28.25.

[16] Entries 17 and 18 occur here and in ch. 1 (under "Distinctive Language" from Ezekiel). They appear in both places precisely because the locutions originate from H but are most frequently found in Ezekiel. I contend that the author GO most likely derived H locutions from texts in Ezekiel in the effort to mimic Ezekiel. Still, the author was aware of H, as is evidenced by the use of locution אין חומה in 38.13. For a similar position see Lyons, *Law to Prophecy*, 142–44.

– Num 19.16 "also anyone in the open field who touches one who has been killed with a sword or who has died [of natural causes], or a *human bone* (עצם אדם) or a *grave* (קבר), shall be *unclean* (טמ״א) for seven days."
– Ezek 39.15b–16 "When one sees a *human bone* (עצם אדם), he will set up beside it a sign post, until the *undertakers* (קברים) *bury* (קבר) it in the valley of Hamon-gog. And also the name of the city will be Hamonah. And they will *cleanse* (טה״ר) the land."

21. זבח לכם, *"a sacrifice for you"* (Ezek 39.17, 19). This unique expression is uttered by Yhwh and addressed to the animals, "I am sacrificing for you a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel." It is a reversal of a common expression from the Torah זבח + ל + deity, which occurs a total of twenty times in the Torah, in non-P, P, and Deuteronomic material, including eleven occurrences in the Exodus narratives (Gen 46.1; Exod 3.18; 5.3, 8, 17; 8.4, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; 13.15; 22.19; 24.5; 34.15 [cf. 20.24]; Lev 19.5; 22.29; Deut 15.21; 16.2; 17.1; Ezek 39.17, 19). Eleven further occurrences appear in DtrH, excluding references to sacrificing to pagan deities (Josh 8.31; Judg 2.5; 1 Sam 1.3, 21; 6.15; 15.15, 21; 16.2, 5; 1 Kgs 8.63; 11.8).[17]
22. אכלתם בשר / חלב ושתיתם דם, *"you will eat flesh / fat and drink blood"* (Ezek 39.17, 19). This unusual locution is another inversion. In this case it overturns the priestly sacrificial legislation, characterized by Lev 7.23–27: "You must not eat fat . . . you must not eat it . . . you must not eat any blood whatever. . ." (discussed below, pp. 185–88).[18]
23. משפטי אשר עשיתי, *"my judgment, which I have executed"* (Ezek 5.8; 39.21; Mic 7.9; Pss 9.17; 119.84). The locution משפט + עשה, throughout the HB, almost always means "keep ordinances" (i.e., divine judgments)[19] or "enforce/administer justice."[20] Only on a few occasions does

[17] The locution זבח + ל + deity only appears twice in the Prophets (Jonah 1.16 [cf. 2.10]; Mal 1.14), and both references are allusions to the Torah. There are an additional seven occurrences in the Writings (Pss 22.6; 50.4 [cf. 4.6]; 1 Chr 29.21; 2 Chr 11.16; 15.11; 28.23; 30.22). The (typically) Deuteronomic expression זבח + לפני יהוה appears in Lev 9.4; Deut 27.7; 1 Sam 11.15; 1 Kgs 8.62; and 2 Chr 7.4.

[18] Parallels to prophetic texts on animals devouring human corpses and battles as sacral feasts will be discussed in the next chapter.

[19] E.g., Gen 18.19, 25; Exod 21.9, 31; Lev 5.10; 9.16; 18.4, 5, 26; 19.37; 20.22; 25.18; Num 9.3, 14; Deut 4.14; 26.16; 1 Kgs 6.12; Isa 56.1; 58.2; Jer 5.1; 7.5; 9.23; 22.3, 15; Ezek 5.7; 11.12, 20; 18.5, 8, 9, 17, 19, 21, 27; 20.13, 19, 24; 33.14, 16, 19; 36.27; 45.9; 1 Chr 28.7; Pss 106.3; 119.121; Prov 21.3, 7, 15.

[20] E.g., Deut 10.18; 33.21; 2 Sam 8.15; 1 Kgs 3.28; 7.7; 8.45, 49, 59; 10.9; Jer 23.5; 33.15; 1 Chr 18.14; 2 Chr 6.39; 9.8; Pss 9.5; 103.6; 146.7; 149.9.

it mean "execute judgment" (e.g., Ezek 5.8). GO employs the locution in deliberate contrast to its typical usage (per #21, 22).[21]

24. מעלו בי, *"they were unfaithful to me"* (Lev 26.40; Ezek 17.20; 20.27; Ezek 39.23, 26). This is another H locution, taken from the list of covenant curses. That GO derived this from H is also suggested by the proximity of other locutions that appear in both contexts (עון, Lev 26.40, 43 // Ezek 39.23; יעקב, Lev 26.42 // Ezek 39.25; see also the parallels in #7 above).
25. אסתר פני מהם, *"I hid my face from them"* (Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20; Isa 8.17; 54.8; Jer 16.17; Ezek 39.23, 24, 29; Ps 22.25 [cf. Ps 38.10]). Worship in Deuteronomy and DtrH is often depicted as "appearing," "rejoicing," "eating," or "serving" (for Levites) in the presence of Yhwh (פני יהוה; Deut 4.10; 9.18, 25; 10.8; 12.7, 12, 18; 14.23; 14.26; 15.20; 16.11; 16.16; 18.7; 26.5, 10, 13; 27.7; 31.11; 1 Sam, 1.22) [22] or "seeking the face of God" (2 Sam 21.1; Hos 5.15; Zech 8.22; Ps 27.8 bis).[23] When people pray, they ask him to "look" on them (1 Sam 1.11, 19).[24] In Deut 31 and 32 Yhwh threatens to "hide" his "face" from the people when they breach the covenant.[25] In GO's description of eschatological restoration, the author uses the Deuteronomic expression in the reverse: God will never again hide his face from the people.
26. אתנם ביד צריהם, "I delivered them into the hand of their enemies" (Ezek 39.23; Josh 21.42; Judg 16.24; 2 Kgs 21.14; Jer 20.5; 34.20, 21; cf. Lev 26.25). This is another variation on a common Deuteronomic expression: "deliver enemies into their/your hand" or "deliver them/you into the hand of their/your enemies." Everywhere in the HB (except Neh

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[21] There is continuity of theme between GO and Ps 9.17–20, in that both envision a future judgment of the nations. Ps 9.17–20, unfortunately, lacks details that would make it possible to determine if GO alluded to it.

[22] As suggested by F. Nötscher, the expression "appear in the presence of Yhwh" may be a pious adaptation. Nötscher argued that that "appear" (*niphal*) was originally construed as an active verb "to see the face of Yhwh" (*"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung*, 2d ed. [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969]; see also**,** Friedhelm Hartenstein, *Das Angesicht JHWHs: Studien zu seinem höfischen und kultischen Bedeutungshintergrund in den Psalmen und in Exodus 32–34* (FAT 55; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

[23] Note the comparable notion of "seeking the face of a king," that is, seeking an audience before a king (Prov 29.26; 2 Chr 9.23; cf. 2 Kgs 25.19; Esth 1.14).

[24] Prayers are sometimes depicted as if they were physical (ostraca?). Once prayed, the deity would keep them, so as to remember the prayer at the appropriate time. Thus, Solomon asks, ". . . may these words of mine be near to Yhwh day and night," where he can 'see' them (1 Kgs 8.59).

[25] Compare the related expressions "dismiss" (שלח), "cast away" (שלך), and "remove (סור) from the face of Yhwh." (שלח: 1 Kgs 9.7; שלך: 2 Kgs 13.23; 17.20; 24.20 [= Jer 52.3]; סור: 2 Kgs 17.18, 23; 23.27; 24.3)

9.27) the locution is נתן + יד + ב- + אויב. In Ezek 39.23 and Neh 9.27 צר is substituted for אויב. There is some debate as to whether Neh 9.27 is commonly an adaptation of the Deuteronomic expression or an independent iteration of the same sentiment.[26] The same could be said for Ezek 39.23.[27]

27. אין מחריד, *"none to terrify"* (Lev 26.6; Deut 28.26; Isa 17.2; Jer 7.33; 30.10; 46.27; Ezek 34.28; 39.26; Mic 4.4; Nah 2.12; Zeph 3.3; Job 11.19). This locution occurs in many corpora within the HB, but its proximity to other H locutions intimates that Lev 26.6 is the likely source. This is the fourth H locution we have seen that was borrowed from the covenant blessings and curses in Lev 26 (see # 7, 15, 24; see also 28, 29).

28. קבצתי אתם מארצות איביהם, *"I will gather them from the lands of their enemies"* (Lev 26.34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44;[28] Ezek 20.34, 41; 34.13; 39.27). This unique expression is a combination of the Ezekielian locution "gather from lands" (קבץ + מן + ארצות) with the H locution "lands of enemies" (ארצות אויבים). In addition to the fact that Ezekiel has fixed ways of describing regathering, which this does not match,[29] Ezekiel also disprefers the term "enemies" (אויב; only in 36.2).

29. נקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים, *"I will display my holiness among them, before the eyes of the nations"* (Lev 22.32 + 26.45; Ezek 20.41; 28.25; 39.27). This is yet another example of an H locution reappearing in GO. It is a combination of locutions from Lev 22 and 26.

- Lev 22.32 "You will not defile my holy name, and *I will display my holiness* (נקדשתי) in the midst of the people of Israel."
- Lev 26.45bα ". . . whom I brought out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations (לעיני הגוים)."

(For other H locutions in GO see #7 above)

From these twenty-nine locutions, we can see that GO makes use of linguistic material that is derived from of a wide variety of texts within the Torah: non-P, Deuteronomic texts, and H. This implies that the author of GO had knowledge of a version of the Torah that was nearly completed, if not entirely completed, and it places the origins of GO in the Persian

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[26] Contrast, e.g., the comments by Joseph Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster: 1988], 306), with those of Hugh Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah*; WBC; Waco: Word, 1985], 316).

[27] Neither אויב nor צר appears in Ezekiel with any frequency. Each term appears once (36.2; 30.16 respectively) outside of GO (see 39.23, 27). So, this does not appear to be an adjustment of the Deuteronomic expression to correspond with the idiolect of Ezekiel.

[28] Vv. 34, 38, and 39 are second-pers. plural, "*your* enemies."

[29] See the discussion on pp. 67–68.

period at the earliest.[30] Some of these locutions are characteristic of a whole corpus and are not indicative of a particular context. Others pinpoint particular pericopae within the Torah as the source of much of its language, including the creation story, Table of Nations, Sodom and Gomorrah, the exodus story, the Holiness code (particularly the covenant blessings and curses), purity legislation, and the Balaam oracles. These parallels only indicate *some* of the texts which the author of GO exploited, those from which the author borrowed specific words, phrases, and clauses. Other types of dependencies will be explored in the next chapter.

Excursus A: On the Meaning of אחרית הימים *in GO.*

The proper translation of באחרית הימים is famously disputed. The phrase occurs fourteen times in the Hebrew Bible and in most cases designates some indefinite time in the future.[31] However, the *quality* of the future indicated by the phrase is a subject of contentious debate. A few scholars have argued that באחרית הימים signifies nothing more than "afterward" or "subsequently."[32] Others have argued that all fourteen occurrences are postexilic and refer explicitly to the apocalyptic end of history ("*end* of days").[33] More commonly, twentieth-century scholars have tended to view "in the latter days" as a technical phrase for the eschaton, but without the apocalyptic notion of the end of history.[34] For example, Hans Wildberger argues,

> Even if one does not find an apocalyptic sense for באחרית הימים . . . the term is not intended as a description of a vague time period yet to come . . . it refers to an altered fu-

[30] Regarding the date of the completion of the Torah, I accept the growing consensus that it was completed in the Persian period (R. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* [trans. John Bowden; London and New York: T & T Clark, 2005], 225–229, 300–307; see especially, Christophe Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch* [FAT 25; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], 608–19).

[31] Gen 49.1; Num 24.14; Deut 4.30; 31.29; Is 2.2; Jer 23.20; 30.24; 48.47; 49.39; Ezek 38.16; Hos 3.5; Mic 4.1; Dan 2.28 (באחרית יומיא, Aramaic); 10.14.

[32] E.g., Hans Kosmala, "At the End of Days," *ASTI* 2 (1963): 27–37.

[33] E.g., S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (trans. G. W. Anderson; New York/Nashville: Abingdon, 1954), 126–33; Willi Staerk ("Der Gebrauch der Wendung באחרית הימים im alttestamentlichen Kanon," *ZAW* 11 [1891]: 247–53). Staerk based his argument, in part, on the representation of the phrase in the LXX by ἔσχατος and in the Targumim by בסוף יומיא, "in the end of days." H. Gressmann (*Der Messias*, 74–77, 82–87) is one of the few scholars to argue that preexilic legal and prophetic texts already had a telic view of history. For him, all occurrences of באחרית הימים refer to the apocalyptic end of days.

[34] J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), 360–75; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Eschatology in the Old Testament," *OTS* 17 (1972): 89–99; K. Rahner, "The Hermeneutics of Eschatological Assertions," *Theological Investigations* 4 (1966): 337; T. H. C. Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology," 199–229.

ture, resulting from God's entering into history, envisioning the coming time of salvation. As long as this intervention by Yhwh in history is designated "eschatological" and is clearly differentiated from "apocalyptic," one can say that באחרית הימים is used to introduce an eschatological prediction.[35]

This conclusion understands the eschaton as a future period of divine deliverance that is historical not telic.[36] The locution באחרית הימים is thereby rendered with generic equivalents like "in days to come" or "in the future," rather than "latter days" or "end of days."[37]

Horst Seebass perceives a development in the use of באחרית הימים. According to Seebass, in most cases a "limited future time" is intended. He places Gen 49.1; Num 24.14; Deut 4.30; 31.29; Jer 48.47; 49.39 in this category. Other texts, he argues, use the phrase to indicate the eschaton explicitly (Jer 23.20 = 30.24; Isa 2.2 = Mic 4.1). In the last stage of development, the phrase comes to be used for the apocalyptic end of history. Dan 2.28 (Aramaic) and 10.14 are the clear examples here. In these last two passages, visions depict the destruction of human political states and the emergence of an indestructible kingdom.[38] Hosea 3.5 and Ezek 38.16 may also fall into this last category.[39]

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[35] Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Continental; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 88. See also G. W. Buchanan, "Eschatology and the End of Days," *JNES* 20/21 (1960): 189–90; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 306–7; E. Jenni, "אחר," *TLOT* I: 87–88; J. Klausner, *The Messianic Ideal in Israel* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), 30.

[36] In contrast with, e.g., Daniel's expression עת קץ, "end of time" (8.17; 11.35, 40; 12.4, 9).

[37] Shemaryahu Talmon ("The Signification of אחרית and אחרית הימים in the Hebrew Bible," in *Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* [ed. Shalom Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 795–810) argues against an "eschatological" understanding of באחרית הימים. "[I]n texts which are considered prime witnesses to its 'eschatological' signification, the expression actually pertains to 'real history'" (pp. 795–96). Thus, Talmon argues against the understanding of באחרית הימים as a marker of the eschaton because he invests "eschatology" with a "meta-historical" quality. In this he appears to be arguing against scholars from previous generations like Mowinckel and Staerk. As Wildberger's quotation illustrates, however, "eschatology" (as opposed to apocalyptic) is commonly understood today as an expression of future salvation that lacks time-reference not historical expression. Talmon's conclusions, in fact, correspond well with Wildberger's: "The biblical expression אחרית הימים denotes an eternally yearned for historic 'tomorrow' . . . The term אחרית הימים denotes a future period in history, of peace and well-being for the god-fearing, of doom and perdition for all evildoers" (pp. 809–10).

[38] Texts like Num 24.20 and Isa 46.10 may have inspired the development of באחרית הימים into a technical term for the apocalyptic end. Those texts use ראשית and אחרית as a binary pair. Thus, just as the world had a ראשית, "beginning" (Gen 1.1), so too it must have an אחרית, "end."

[39] H. Seebass, "אחר," *TDOT* 1:211–12. A. Kapelrud makes a similar, though more modest, argument in "Eschatology in the Book of Micah," *VT* 11 (1961): 395–96.

Two of the most overt markers of GO's eschatological perspective are the temporal expressions באחרית הימים, "in the latter days" (38.16), and באחרית השנים, "in the latter years" (38.8).[40] Synonyms in GO, the two phrases are used as parallel terms at opposite ends of the *inclusio* around 38.7–16.[41] Within Ezekiel, these temporal locutions are found only in GO; all other oracles of restoration are presented without a specific time reference. Considering that the author of GO could have persistently referred to these future events with the generic temporal designation "in that day," ביום ההוא, as other oracles in the book habitually do, the appearance of באחרית השנים, "in the latter years," and באחרית הימים, "in the latter days," is conspicuous.[42] The image of the future depicted in Ezek 38–39 is not radically different from that in Daniel. In GO, the prophet envisions a future for Israel which is far off (ימים רבים, 38.8) and in which the conflict between Israel and the nations is global. Following this conflict, Israel will experience a universal restoration, unbroken peace, and (through God's inward re-creation of the people) perpetual obedience (39.25–29). GO depicts a division in history between the current state of affairs and the unrestricted benefits of the coming future age.[43] Thus, the author of GO uses the phrase באחרית הימים as a temporal expression of the end of history-as-we-know-it and the initiation of a new historical age.[44] For this reason, I translate the phrases "latter days" and "latter years," and not "end of days/years" or "last days/years." This translation preserves the eschatolog-

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[40] באחרית השנים is a unique expression and synonym for באחרית הימים, expressing that אחרית הימים are to be thought of as an undisclosed span of years, not a few days or weeks (Staerk, "באחרית הימים im at. Kanon," 248; Dürr, *Die Stellung*, 104; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 306–7). It has been argued that the locution אחרית הימים is etymologically related to the Akkadian *ina/ana aḫrât ûmī*, "in the future" (Buchanan, "Eschatology and the End of Days," 188–92; Kosmala, "End of Days," 27–37; S. Talmon, "Eschatology and History in Biblical Thought," *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible* [ed. S. Talmon; Jerusalem: Magnes/Leiden: Brill, 1993], 170–77), but see the well-worn arguments of James Barr on the value of etymology for establishing semantic value in any given case (*The Semantics of Biblical Literature* [London: SCM Press, 1961], 107–60).

[41] See ch. 5, pp. 153–62.

[42] ביום ההוא occurs in Ezek 20.6; 23.38, 39; 24.26, 27; 29.21; 30.9; 38.10, 14, 18, 19; 39.11; 45.22. It occurs 189 times outside of Ezekiel.

[43] The author of GO appears to understand באחרית הימים as a technical phrase for the eschaton. As noted argued in the next chapter, the author borrowed the main character Gog from Num 24.7, another oracle about the אחרית הימים.

[44] Thus, Seebass' argument that the use of באחרית הימים in Ezek 38.16 "opens the way for its development into a technical term" in Daniel appears to be correct. Ezek 38.16 uses the phrase as an expression for the transition to a new age in history, whereas Dan 2.28 and 10.14 use it to refer to the end of history (עת קץ). GO, then, though earlier than Daniel, was probably composed later than any other text in which the phrase באחרית הימים appears.

ical overtones of the temporal phrase without indicating that it signals an end to history.

B. Reuse of Locutions from the Prophets

1. ירכתי צפון, *"the far reaches of the North"* (Isa 14.13; Ps 48.3; Ezek 38.6, 15; 39.2).[45] This phrase is often highlighted in arguments that GO was inspired by the "foe from the North" oracles in Jeremiah. Though both Ezekiel and Jeremiah have ample opportunity to use the phrase, neither of them do.[46] This locution is unique to Isa 14.13 and Ps 48.3, and it clearly has mythic overtones. The unique use of the locution in GO will be discussed in chapter 5.
2. מימים רבים תפקד, *"after many days, you will be visited"* (Isa 10.3; Ezek 38.8). Isaiah 10.3 refers to the *"day of visitation"* (יום פקדה) as the time when God will punish Assyria. Other links between Isa 10.3–7 and Ezek 38.7–13 include שאה, "storm" (#3), והיה ביום ההוא, "and it will happen in that day" (#4), על לבב + חשב, "come to mind" (#5), ולבז בז לשלל שלל, "take spoil and seize plunder" (#8).
3. שאה, *"storm/devastation"* (Isa 10.3; Ezek 38.9). This is an uncommon term in the HB, appearing twice in Isaiah (10.3; 47.11), once in Zephaniah (1.15), three times in Job (30.3, 14; 38.27), twice in Psalms (35.8; 63.10), and twice in Proverbs (1.27; 3.25). The author of GO derived it from Isa 10.3, along with several other locutions from Isa 10.3–6 that reappear in Ezek 38.7–13 (see # 2, 4, 5, 8).
4. והיה ביום ההוא, *"it will happen in that day"* (Ezek 38.10, 18; 39.11). This temporal expression is extremely common in First Isaiah (7.18, 21, 23; 10.20, 27; 11.10, 11; 17.4; 22.20; 23.15; 24.21; 27.12, 13) and Deutero-Zechariah (12.3, 9; 13.2, 4; 14.6, 7, 8, 13), but it is unattested in Ezekiel.[47] The author of GO, as will be discussed in the next chapter, alludes to several oracles in Isaiah (chs. 10, 14, and 34, most frequently). The author of GO knows portions of Isaiah, and Ezekiel does not use the expression, which suggests that Isaiah was the source for this expression.

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[45] ארץ צפון appears in Jer 3.18; 6.22; 10.22; 16.15; 31.7; 46.10; 50.9; Zech 2.10; 6.6, 8. מלך צפון appears in Dan 11.6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 40. מצפון appears in Isa 14.3; 41.25; 49.12; Jer 1.14; 4.6; 6.1; Ezek 8.5; 26.7; Ps 107.3.

[46] Ezekiel prefers to use צפון without a modifier (e.g., 1.4; 26.7; 32.30). Jeremiah prefers the phrase "land of the North," ארץ צפון (3.18; 6.22; 10.22; 16.15; 31.7; 46.10; 50.9; Zech 2.10; 6.6, 8). Jer 6.22 does contain the parallel elements ארץ צפון // ירכתי ארץ.

[47] Also Jer 4.9; 30.8; Hos 1.5; 2.18, 23; Joel 4.18; Amos 8.9; Mic 5.9; Zeph 1.11.

5. עלה על לבב + חשב, *"think / come to mind + consider"* (Isa 10.7; Ezek 38.10). The expression "to come to mind" is not uncommon in the HB (2 Kgs 12.5; Isa 65.17; Jer 3.16; 7.31; 19.5; 32.35; 44.21; 51.50; Ezek 14.4, 7). It seems likely, though, that Isa 10.7 is the source of the locutions in Ezek 38.10. This is indicated by the other locutions shared by Isa 10.3–7 and Ezek 38.7–13 (#2, 3, 4, 8) and the combination of חשב with על לבב, which is found in both texts.
6. השבת מחשבת, *"consider a plan"* (Jer 49.30; Ezek 38.10). In addition to Jer 49.30 and Ezek 38.10, this locution occurs in 2 Sam 14.14; Jer 11.19; 18.11, 18; 29.11; 49.20, 30; 50.45; Dan 11.24, 25; Est 8.3; 9.25. Jeremiah 49.30 is, nonetheless, the source of the locution, as is indicated by the fact that the two texts share many other locutions as well (Jer 49.30–33 // Ezek 38.10–13; see # 7, 8, 9).
7. עלה אל ארץ . . . השקטים, *"go up against a land at rest"* (Jer 49.31; Ezek 38.11; Joel 1.6 [without השקטים]). Jeremiah 49.31 has a similar locution, namely עלו אל גוי שליו, "they will go up against a nation at ease." Though not identical, Jer 49 is the probable source of the expression in GO, as can be seen in the many parallels between the two texts (see # 6, 8, 9). Both Jer 49.31 and Ezek 38.11 combine the H locution ישבי לבטח "dwelling securely" with one of two very similar clauses: עלו אל גוי שליו or עלה אל ארץ . . . השקטים.
8. לבז בז, לשלל שלל, *"to take spoil"* and *"to seize plunder"* (Isa 10.5–6; Jer 49.32; 50.10; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13). This is another element in the constellation of locutions shared by Isa 10, Jer 49 and Ezek 38 (#2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9). It also appears in Ezek 29, another chapter that the author of GO draws upon freely.
9. טבור הארץ, *"navel of the earth"* (Judg 9.37; Ezek 38.12). This unique expression is known only from Judg 9 and Ezek 38. In Judg 9.37 it refers to a mountain or mountains near Shechem (the referent is uncertain). GO uses the expression to designate the "mountains of Israel" as the center of the earth.
10. דבר . . . ביד, *"(I) spoke by means of"* (Josh 20.2; 1 Sam 28.17; 1 Kgs 8.53, 56; 12.15; 14.18; 15.29; 16.12, 34; 17.16; 2 Kgs 9.36; 10.10; 14.25; 17.23; 21.10; 24; Ezek 38.17). This is a Deuteronomic locution, used almost exclusively in DtrH and in texts that borrow from it.[48]
11. עבדי הנביאים, *"my servants the prophets"* (2 Kgs 9.7; 17.13; Jer 7.25; 25.4; 26.5; 29.19; 35.15; 44.4; Ezek 38.17; Zech 1.6). The exact locution "my servants the prophets," עבדי הנביאים, occurs most commonly in

[48] Outside of DtrH, דברתי ביד is used of Moses in Exod 9.35; Lev 10.11; Num 17.5; 27.23 (the possible source of the DtrH expression), and in three texts that borrow from DtrH: Isa 20.2; Jer 37.2; 2 Chr 10.15.

Jeremiah and is widely recognized as a Deuteronomic locution.[49] The variation "his servants the prophets," עבדיו הנביאים, appears in 2 Kgs 17.23; 21.10; 24.2; Jer 25.4; Amos 3.7; Dan 9.6, 10; Ezra 9.11. "My servants the prophets" is also reminiscent of the "the former prophets," הנביאים הרשנים, in Zech 1.4.[50]

12. קנאה + אש + עברה, "*jealousy* + *fire* + *fury*" (Ezek 38.19; Zeph 1.18 [cf. 1.15; 2.2; 3.8]). This combination of invectives is distinctive of Zephaniah's rhetoric and is found nowhere else in the HB. Note the parallels between Zeph 1.18 and Ezek 38.18–19:

    – Zeph 1.18: *in the day* (ביום) of Yhwh's *rage* (עברת), and *in the fire* (באש) of his *jealousy* (קנאתו)
    – Ezek 38.18–19: *in the day* (ביום) . . . in my *jealousy* (קנאתי), *in the fire* (באש) of my *rage* (עברתי) . . ."

It is also notable, that the nouns used to express God's wrath (עברה, אש, קנאתה) are inverted in GO, marking the reuse as a citation. Though this combination of constituents is unique to Zephaniah and derived from it, it is not discordant with the book of Ezekiel (see # 16–17, pp. 44–45).

13. רעש גדול, *"great shaking"* (Ezek 3.12, 13; 38.19; Jer 10.22). The earthquake trope appears in judgment oracles in all three of the major prophets (see Isa 29.6). This particular articulation, רעש גדול, is only known to Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Jeremiah 10.22, 25 is one of the oracles of the foe from the north, on which GO is so famously dependent.[51] See the discussion in chapter 5 below (pp. 166–67).
14. התגדלתי, *"I will magnify myself"* (Isa 10.15; Ezek 38.23). As a first-person reflexive verb, this verb only appears in GO and Isa 10.15. The other dependencies between GO and the oracles against Assyria in Isa 10 were inventoried in #2, 3, 4, 5, and 8. In Isa 10.15 the Assyrians, imagined as an ax, magnify themselves over God, the metaphorical woodcutter. In GO, the image is reversed, as God magnifies himself by "entering into judgment with" Gog and his allies.
15. ושלחתי אש ב-, *"I will send fire against/upon"* (Ezek 39.6; Amos 1.4, 7. 10, 12; 2.2, 5). As an expression of divine wrath, this locution is unique to Amos. In Amos, God sends (שלח) fire (אש) as a judgment against (ב-) places, not peoples: Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Teman, Moab and Judah.

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[49] See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 351.

[50] Only Ezek 38.17 qualifies that Israelite prophets are in view: "my servants the prophets *of Israel* (ישראל)." See discussion on pp. 262–66.

[51] Jer 10.25 appears to continue the oracles, after a prosaic interruption in vv. 23–24. The whole of 23–25, though, is a secondary insertion derived from Prov 16.9, 20.24; Pss 6.2; 79.6–7.

Outside of Amos, only GO uses this trope, when God sends his judgment against Gog's homeland, Magog.

16. ישבי האיים לבטח, *"the secure inhabitants of the coastlands"* (Ezek 39.6). The designation "inhabitants of the coastlands" (ישבי האיים) is Ezekiel's title for the Phoenicians (27.35).[52] In Ezek 39.7 the author of GO has combined it with the H locution "dwell securely," ישב + לבטח (Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 [x2]; 34.25, 27 [substituting היה for ישב], 28; 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26).
17. קדוש בישראל, *"Holy One in Israel"* (Ezek 39.7). This divine name is unique to GO. It is a variation on the common Isaianic title "Holy One *of* Israel," קדוש ישראל (Isa 1.4; 5.19, 24; 10.20; 12.6; 17.7; 29.19; 30.11, 12, 15; 31.1; 37.23 [= 2 Kgs 19.22]; 41.14, 16, 20; 43.3, 14; 45.11; 47.4; 48.17; 49.7; 54.5; 55.5; 60.9, 14; also, Jer 50.29; 51.5; Pss 71.27; 78.41; 89.19 [cf. Joel 2.27]).[53]
18. נתן ל- מקום (שם), *"give to* [proper name or pronoun] *a place (there)"* (Josh 20.4; Judg 20.36; 1 Sam 9.22; 27.5; Ezek 39.11). This formulaic clause is used for land allotment in DtrH. The author of GO, tongue-in-cheek, uses the same formula to designate the grave site of Gog and his host.
19. המון גוג, המונה, *"Hamon-Gog, Hamonah"* (39.11, 15). These names for the valley where Gog is buried are a deliberate pun on the valley of Hinnom, הִנֹּם (2 Kgs 23.10; Jer 7.30–34). This is indicated by the remarkable symmetry in the themes and tropes of Ezek 39.11–20 and Jer 7.30–34 (or 8.3). The parallels will be explained in detail in the next chapter.
20. קבץ + בוא, *"gather and come"* (Isa 45.20; 49.18; 60.4; 66.18; Ezek 34.13; 37.21; 39.17). This is a distinctive collocation in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah. It is used in Isaiah for the gathering of the tribes or Israel or the nations to Zion.[54] It appears in combination with כבודי בגוים, "my glory among the nations" (# 23) and ראה + הגוים, "the nations will see" (# 24) only in Isa 66.18–19 and in GO.
21. אילים כרים ועתודים, *"rams, lambs, and billy goats"* (Isa 34.6; Ezek 39.18 [cf. Jer 51.40]). Lists of sacrificial animals are not uncommon in the HB. Still, a number of motifs and tropes from Isa 34.6–7 reappear in GO, too many to be coincidental. (The agent in both cases is God's sword. Humans are depicted as livestock. Their blood and fat satiates

[52] The term "coastlands," without "inhabitants," also appears in Ezek 26.15, 18; 27.3, 6, 7, 15, and the Aramaic form איין appears in 26.18. Isaiah uses the alternative expression "inhabitants of the coast (sg.)," ישבי אי, for the Phoenicians (Isa 23.2, 6).

[53] Hos 11.9 also has "holy in your midst," בקרבך קדוש.

[54] In two texts, the collocation "gather and come" is used in a battle summons. See 1 Sam 28.4 and Jer 49.14.

the devourer, and the slaughter is portrayed as a sacrifice. The significance of these parallels will be discussed in the next chapters.)

22. כבודי בגוים, *"my glory among the nations"* (Isa 66.19 [42.8; 48.11]; Ezek 39.21). God's glory, seen by the nations or placed among the nations, is a common theme in Isa 40–66. In Isa 66.18–19, this locution is combined with the summons to regather Israel (# 21), with the Isaianic locution "all the nations will see" (# 24), and with the names of many of Gog's confederates (Tarshish, Put, Lud, Tubal, and Javan). These elements are only combined in Isa 66.18–19 and in GO.
23. ראה + כל הגוים, *"all the nations will see"* (Isa 52.10; 62.2; 66.19 [without כל]; Ezek 39.21). This is another expression from Isa 40–66, that only appears there and in GO. (See comments on #21 and 23).
24. רחמתי כל בית ישרעל, *"I will have mercy on the whole house of Israel"* (Ezek 39.25; Hos 1.6). This clause from Ezek 39.25 is a reversal of the sign act in Hos 1, in which the prophet names his daughter "no compassion," לא רחמה, because, as God says, "I will no longer have mercy on the house of Israel," לא אוסיף עוד ארחם את בית ישראל.
25. שפכתי את רוחי, *"I will pour out my spirit"* (Ezek 39.29; Joel 3.1–2 [Eng. 2.28–29]). This locution occurs only in Joel 3.1 and Ezek 39.29. When the book of Ezekiel speaks of giving the spirit, it always uses נתן (11.19; 36.26, 27; 37.14).[55] All the prophets, including Ezek 1–36, uses שפך exclusively for pouring out wrath.[56] The only exceptions are Ezek 39.29 and Joel 3.1.

All twenty-five of these locutions are identifiable with the language of a prophetic book or, in most cases, a particular pericope within a prophetic book. A variety of locutions from across DtrH resurface in GO, as do an array of expressions widely distributed in Isaiah. A single text from Jeremiah (ch. 49) appears to have provided the majority of the locutions borrowed from that book. Locutions from four of the twelve so-called Minor Prophets also emerge. Elements drawn from Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Zephaniah are all represented, though the language of Joel is most apparent.

Although the lists in chapters 2 and 3 are an exhaustive catalogue of reused locutions, it is important to emphasize again that they only represent *some* of the source texts that author of GO drew upon in constructing GO. Other types of dependencies – images, themes, arguments, plot lines, and structures – will be explored in detail in chapters four and five.

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[55] See Num 11.25, 29; 1 Kgs 22.23; 2 Kgs 19.7; Isa 37.7; 42.1; Qoh 12.7; Neh 9.20; 2 Chr 18.22.

[56] See. e.g., Ezek 7.8; 9.8; 20.8, 13, 21, 33, 34; 30.15; 36.18 (cf. 21.36; 22.31).

C. Scriptural Reuse in the Gog Oracles: Graphic Depiction

It should be pointed out that this chart does not distinguish between deliberate reuse and the simple sharing of language that might be common to a genre, a social group, or a professional class. It serves only to illustrate the linguistic overlap between GO and other scriptural texts under discussion in the first two chapters of this study. Nor does the chart indicate secondary reuse of biblical language. For example, Ezekiel borrows many H locutions, and GO borrows many locutions from Ezekiel. The appearance of an H locution in GO is not proof, in itself, that the author of GO borrowed the particular locution directly from H. The author of GO may have derived an H locution from Ezekiel.

Locutions shared by Ezekiel and GO are underlined. Locutions appearing in GO that are distinctive of a particular text or corpus from the Torah, Prophets, or Psalms are outlined. The citations are not exhaustive; many incidental similarities to other texts are not marked.

Chapter 38

1 ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר׃

– word of Yhwh came to me saying: 47x in Ezek

2 בן אדם שים פניך אל גוג
ארץ המגוג
נשיא ראש משך ותבל
והנבא עליו׃

– son of man: 95x in Ezek
– set your face against: Ezek 6.2; 13.17; 21.2, 7; 25.2; 28.21; 29.2; 35.2 38.2; 40.4; 44.5
– Gog: Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11
– Magog: Genesis 10.2; Ezek 38.2; 39.6
– chief prince: Num 10.4; 36.1; Ezek 38.2; 39.1
– Meshek & Tubal: Gen 10.2; Ezek 27.13; 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1
– prophesy . . . and say: Ezek 13.2, 17; 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.4, 9, 12; 38.2–3; 39.1

3 ואמרת כה אמר אדני יהוה
הנני אליך גוג
נשיא ראש משך ותבל׃

– thus says Adonai Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
– behold I am against: 5.8; 13.8 (pl); 21.8; 26.3, 7; 28.22; 29.3, 10; 35.3; 36.9 (pl.); 38.3; 39.1
– Gog: Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11

– chief prince: Num 10.4; 36.1; Ezek 38.2; 39.1
– Meshek & Tubal: Gen 10.2; Ezek 27.13; 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1

4 ושובבתיך ונתתי חחים בלחייך
והוצאתי אותך ואת כל חילך
סוסים ופרשים
לבשי מכלול כלם
קהל רב צנה ומגן
תפשי חרבות כלם׃

– I will put hooks in your jaws: Ezek 29.4; 38.4
– horses & horsemen: Ezek 23.6; 38.4 (cf. 23.12, 23; 26.7; 38.15)
– perfectly clothed: Ezek 23.12; 38.4
– (great) host: Ezek 16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.3, 22, 23; 38.4, 7, 13, 15
– mantlet & shield: Ezek 23.24; 26.8; 38.4; 39.9

5 פרס כוש ופוט אתם
כלם מגן וכובע׃

– Persia: Ezek 27.10; 38.5
– Cush: Gen 10.6–8; Ezek 29.10, 30.4–5, 9; 38.5
– Put: Gen 10.6; Ezek 27.10; 30.5; 38.5
– shield & helmet: Ezek 27.10; 38.5

6 גמר וכל אגפיה
בית תוגרמה
ירכתי צפון ואת כל אגפיו
עמים רבים אתך׃

– Gomer: Gen 10.2–3; Ezek 38.6
– all his hordes: Ezek 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
– Togarmah: Gen 10.3; Ezek 27.14; 38.6
– far reaches of the North: Isa 14.13; Ezek 38.6, 15; 39.2
– many peoples: Ezek 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22

7 הכן והכן לך אתה וכל קהלך
הנקהלים עליך
והיית להם למשמר׃

– all (your) host: Ezek 27.27, 34; 32.22, 33; 38.4, 7, 13, 15

8 מימים רבים תפקד
באחרית השנים
תבוא אל ארץ משובבת מחרב
מקבצת מעמים רבים
על הרי ישראל
אשר היו לחרבה תמיד
והיא מעמים הוצאה
וישבו לבטח כלם׃

– after many days you will be visited: Isa 10.3; Ezek 38.8
– latter years: Deut 11.12 (cf. 38.16)
– come to land: Lev 14.34; Num 15.2; 34.2; Deut 8.7; 17.14; 18.9; 26.1; 32.52; Ezek 38.8 [cf. 38.16]
– brought back from the sword: reversal of Ezek 6.8; 38.8
– gathered out of peoples: Deut 30.3; Ezek 11.17; 28.25; 29.13; 38.8
– mountains of Israel: Ezek 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.9; 39.2, 4, 17
– ruin: Ezek 5.14; 13.4; 25.13; 26.2, 20; 29.9, 10, 12; 33.24, 27; 35.4; 36.4, 10;

38.8, 12 (verb appears in 6.6; 12.20; 19.7; 26.2, 19; 29.12; 30.7)
- brought forth out of the nations: Exod 3.10, 12; 7.4; 12.31; Josh 5.5; Ezek 38.8
- dwell securely: Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 bis; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26

9 ועלית כשאה תבוא
כענן לכסות הארץ תהיה
אתה וכל אגפיך
ועמים רבים אותך׃

- storm/devastation: Isa 10.3; Ezek 38.9
- cloud covering: Num 9.16; Ezek 30.18; 32.7; 38.9, 16 (Jer 4.12–13)
- all (your) hordes: Ezek 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
- many peoples: 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38. 6, 8, 9, 15, 22

10 כה אמר אדני יהוה
והיה ביום ההוא
יעלו דברים על לבבך
וחשבת מחשבת רעה׃

- thus says Adonai Yhwh: 121x in Ezek.
- it will happen in that day: Isa 7.18, 21, 23; 10.20, 27; 11.10, 11; 17.4; 22.20; 23.15; 24.21; 27.12, 13; Ezek 38.10; Zech 12.3, 9; 13.2, 4; 14.6, 7, 8, 13[57]
- come to mind: Isa 10.7; Ezek 14.4, 7; 38.10
- consider a plan: Jer 49.30; Ezek 38.10

11 ואמרת אעלה על ארץ פרזות
אבוא השקטים ישבי לבטח
כלם ישבים באין חומה
ובריח ודלתים אין להם׃

- open countryside/homesteads: Deut 3.5; Ezek 38.11 (cf. Lev 25.31)
- go up against a nation at rest: Jer 49.31; Ezek 38.11
- secure (בטח) + dwell/inhabitant (שוב): Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 [x2]; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26
- without a wall: Lev 25.31 (cf. Deut 3.5); Ezek 38.11
- bar & gate: Deut 3.5; Ezek 38.11

12 לשלל שלל ולבז בז
להשיב ידך על חרבות נושבת
ואל עם מאסף מגוים
עשה מקנה וקנין
ישבי על טבור הארץ׃

- take spoil and seize plunder: Isa 10.5–6; Jer 49.32; Ezek 7.21; 29.19; 38.12, 13
- take spoil: Isa 10.6; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13
- seize plunder: Isa 10.6; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13
- inhabited ruins: Ezek 38.8, 12 (cf. 33.23, 27)

[57] Also Jer 4.9; 30.8; Hos 1.5; 2.18, 23; Joel 4.18; Amos 8.9; Mic 5.9; Zeph 1.11.

– regathered from nations: Ezek 11.17; 29.5; 38.12
– cattle & goods: Gen 31.18; 34.23; 36.6; Ezek 38.12, 13 (cf. Jer 49.32)
– navel of the earth: Judg 9.37; Ezek 38.12

13 שבא ודדן וסחרי תרשיש
וכל כפריה יאמרו לך
הלשלל שלל אתה בא
הלבז בז הקהלת קהלך
לשאת כסף וזהב
לקחת מקנה וקנין
לשלל שלל גדול׃

– Sheba: Gen 10.7, 28; Ezek 27.22, 23; 38.13
– Dedan: Gen 25.3; Ezek 27.15, 20; 38.13
– merchants of Tarshish: 27.12; 38.13 (Gen 10.4; Isa 23.6; Jer 10.9)
– take spoil: Isa 10.6; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13
– seize plunder: Isa 10.6; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13
– cattle and goods: Gen 31.18; 34.23; 36.6; Ezek 38.12, 13 (cf. Jer 49.32)

14 לכן הנבא בן אדם
ואמרת לגוג
כה אמר אדני יהוה
הלוא ביום ההוא
בשבת עמי ישראל
לבטח תדע׃

– son of man: 95x in Ezek.
– prophesy (impv.) . . . and say: 13.2, 17; 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.4, 9, 12; 38.2–3, 14; 39.1
– Gog: Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11.
– thus says Adonai Yhwh: 121x in Ezek.
– in that day: 20.6; 23.38, 39; 24.26, 27; 29.21; 30.9; 38.14; 45.22
– my people Israel: 14.9; 25.14; 36.8, 12; 38.14, 16; 39.7
– dwell securely: Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 bis; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26

15 ובאת ממקומך מירכתי צפון
אתה ועמים רבים אתך
רכבי סוסים כלם
קהל גדול וחיל רב׃

– far reaches of the North: Isa 14.13; Ezek 38.6, 15; 39.2
– many peoples: Ezek 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38. 6, 8, 9, 15, 22
– horsemen (riders of horses): Ezek 23.6, 12, 23; 38.15; Zech 10.5
– (great) host: Ezek 16.40; 17.17; 23.24, 46; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.3, 22, 2; 38.4, 7, 13, 15
– mighty army: Ezek 17.17; 37.10; 38.16

16 ועלית על עמי ישראל
בענן לכסות הארץ
באחרית הימים תהיה

– my people Israel: Ezek 14.9; 25.14; 36.8, 12; 38.14, 16; 39.7
– cloud covering: Num 9.16; Ezek 30.18; 32.7; 38.9, 16

וְהֵבֵאוֹתִיךָ עַל אַרְצִי
לְמַעַן דַּעַת הַגּוֹיִם אֹתִי
בְּהִקָּדְשִׁי בָךְ לְעֵינֵיהֶם גּוֹג׃

- latter days: Gen 49.1; Num 24.14; Deut 4.30; 31.29; Isa 2.2; Jer 23.20; 30.24; 38.16 (cf. 38.8); 48.47; 49.39; Hos 3.5; Mic 4.1; Dan 10.14
- against my land: Joel 1.6; Ezek 36.5; 38.16
- nations will know that: Ezek 26.6; 29.6; 30.26; 36.23, 36–37; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23
- show myself holy in you before eyes (of nations): Ezek 28.25; 38.16, 23
- in the eyes (of the nations): Lev 26.45; Ezek 5.8; 20.9, 14, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25; 36.23; 38.23 (cf. 38.16); 39.27
- Gog: Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11.

17 כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
הַאַתָּה הוּא אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי
בְּיָמִים קַדְמוֹנִים
בְּיַד עֲבָדַי נְבִיאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
הַנִּבְּאִים בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם שָׁנִים
לְהָבִיא אֹתְךָ עֲלֵיהֶם׃

- thus says Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek.
- spoke by means of: common DtrH expression (Josh 20.2; 1 Sam 28.17; 1 Kgs 8.53, 56; 12.15; 14.18; 15.29; 16.12, 34; 17.16; 2 Kgs 9.36; 10.10; 14.25; 17.23; 21.10; 24.2); Ezek 38.17
- my/his servants the prophets: 2 Kgs 9.7; 17.13, 23; 21.10; 24.2; Jer 7.25; 25.4; 26.5; 29.19; 35.15; 44.4; Ezek 38.17; Zech 1.6
- prophets of Israel: 13.2, 16 (cf. 13.4); 38.17
- in that day: see on 38.10
- days + years (as parallel terms): Ezek 22.4; 38.8, 17

18 וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
בְּיוֹם בּוֹא גּוֹג
עַל אַדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל
נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
תַּעֲלֶה חֲמָתִי בְּאַפִּי׃

- it will happen in that day: see 38.10
- Gog: Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11.
- come against the land of Israel: Ezek 20.42; 38.18 (against the land: 12.22; 18.2; 33.24; 36.6)
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezekiel
- anger aroused: Ezek 24.8; 38.18 (cf. Isa 66.15)

19 וּבְקִנְאָתִי בְּאֵשׁ־עֶבְרָתִי דִבַּרְתִּי
אִם לֹא בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
יִהְיֶה רַעַשׁ גָּדוֹל
עַל אַדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל

- jealousy + fire + fury: Ezek 38.19; Zeph 1.18 (cf. 3.8)
- fire of fury: Ezek 21.26; 22.21, 31; 38.19 (cf.38.7)

– speak in jealousy: Ezek 5.13; 36.5–6; 38.19
– in that day: see 38.10
– great shaking: Jer 10.22; Ezek 3.12, 13; 38.19
– against the land of Israel: Ezek 20.42; 33.24; 36.6; 38.18; 19

20 ורעשו מפני דגי הים
ועוף השמים
וחית השדה
וכל הרמש הרמש על־האדמה
וכל האדם
אשר על פני האדמה
ונהרסו ההרים
ונפלו המדרגות
וכל חומה לארץ תפול׃

– fish + bird + beast + creeping thing (in order): only Gen 1.26 (28); Ezek 38.20
– land (attenuated form of "land of Israel"): Ezek 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20 bis; 39.26, 28
– every wall will fall: 13.10–11 (12, 14, 15); 38.20

21 וקראתי על־יו לכל הרי חרב
נאם אדני יהוה
חרב איש באחיו תהיה׃

– my mountain(s): Isa 14.25; 49.11; 65.9; Ezek 20.40; 38.21; Zech 14.5
– mountains + sword (God's): 6.3; 35.8; 38.21
– signatory formula: 83x in Ezekiel
– enemy turns on one another: Judg 7.22; 1 Sam 14.20; Ezek 38.21; Zech 14.13; Enoch 56.7; 66.7; 100.1

22 ונשפטתי אתו בדבר ובדם
וגשם שוטף ואבני אלגביש
אש וגפרית אמטיר
על־יו ועל־אגפיו
ועל עמים רבים אשר אתו׃

– I will execute judgment against: Ezek 17.20; 20.35, 36; 38.22
– bleeding pestilence: Ezek 5.17; 14.19; 28.23; 38.22 (cf. 33.27)
– overflowing rain: Ezek 13.11, 13; 38.22
– hail stones: Ezek 13.11, 13; 38.22
– rain (H) + fire and brimstone: Gen 19.24; Ezek 38.22
– all his/your horde: Ezek 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
– many peoples: Ezek 3.6; 17.9, 15; 26.7; 27.33; 32.3, 9, 10; 38.6, 8, 9, 15, 22

23 והגדלתי והתקדשתי
ונודעתי לעיני גוים רבים
וידעו כי אני יהוה׃

– I will magnify myself: Is 10.15; Ezek 38.23
– show myself holy among you before eyes (of nations): Ezek 28.25; 38.16, 23
– be known + in eyes of nations: Ezek 20.9; 38.23 ("nations will know that":

26.6; 29.6; 30.26; 36.23, 36–37; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23)
- in the eyes of the nations: Lev 26.45; Ezek 5.8; 20.9, 14, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25; 36.23; 38.23; 39.27 (cf. 38.16)
- recognition formula: 58x in Ezekiel

Chapter 39

1 ואתה בן אדם הנבא על גוג
ואמרת כה אמר אדני יהוה
הנני אליך גוג
נשיא ראש משך ותבל׃

- son of man: 95x in Ezek.
- Gog: Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11.
- prophesy (impv.) . . . and say: 13.2, 17; 21.14, 33; 30.2; 34.2; 36.1, 3, 6; 37.4, 9, 12; 39.2–3, 14; 39.1
- thus says the Lord Yhwh: 121x in Ezek
- behold I am against: 5.8; 13.8; 21.8; 26.3; 28.22; 29.3, 10; 35.3; 36.9; 38.3; 39.1
- chief prince: Num 10.4; 36.1; Ezek 38.2; 39.1
- Meshek & Tubal: Gen 10.2; Ezek 32.26; 38.2, 3; 39.1

2 ושבבתיך וששאתיך
והעלתיך מירכתי צפון
והבאותך על הרי ישראל׃

- far reaches of the North: Isa 14.13; Ezek 38.6, 15; 39.2
- mountains of Israel: 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17

3 והכיתי קשתך מיד שמאולך
וחציך מיד ימינך אפיל׃

- fall from hand: Ezek 30.22; 39.2

4 על הרי ישראל תפול
אתה וכל אגפיך
ועמים אשר אתך
לעיט צפור כל כנף
וחית השדה נתתיך לאכלה׃

- mountains of Israel: 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17
- all your hordes: 12.14; 17.21; 38.6, 9, 22; 39.4
- birds of every type: Ezek 17.23; 39.4, 17
- I will give you for food: Ezek 29.5; 39.4 (cf. 15.4, 6; 33.27; 35.12); reversal of Gen 9.3

5 על פני השדה תפול
כי אני דברתי
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- fall upon face of field: Ezek 29.5; 39.5 (cf. 11.10; 33.27; 39.4)
- (for) I have spoken: Ezek 5.15, 17; 17.21, 24; 21.22, 37; 22.14; 23.34;

24.14; 26.5, 14; 28.10; 30.12; 34.24; 36.36; 37.14; 39.5, 7 (cf. 12.25, 28)
– signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

6 ושלחתי אש במגוג
וביושבי האיים לבטח
וידעו כי אני יהוה׃

– I will send fire upon: Amos 1.4, 7, 10, 12; 2.2, 5; Ezek 39.6
– Magog: Gen 10.2; Ezek 38.2; 39.6
– inhabitants of coastlands: Ezek 27.35; 39.6 (cf. Isa 20.6; 23.2, 6)
– dwell securely: Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 bis; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26
– recognition formula: 58x in Ezek
– (nations) will know: 22.16; 36.23; 37.28; 38.16; 39.7, 23

7 ואת־שם קדשי אודיע
בתוך עמי ישראל
ולא אחל את שם קדשי עוד
וידעו הגוים כי אני יהוה
קדוש בישראל׃

– my holy name: Lev 20.3; 22.2, 32; Ezek 20.39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7, 25; 43.7, 8; Amos 2.7
– I will make known: Ezek 20.11; 39.7
– my people Israel: 14.9; 25.14; 36.8, 12; 39.7
– name profaned: Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.9, 14, 22, 39; 21.6; 22.2, 32; Ezek 20.39; 36.20; 39.7; Amos 2.7
– Holy One in Israel: 25x in Isaiah

8 הנה באה ונהיתה
נאם אדני יהוה
הוא היום אשר דברתי׃

– behold it is coming and will be done: Ezek 21.12; 39.8 (cf. 7.5, 6, 10; 30.9; 33.33 [24.24])
– behold + coming + day(s): Isa 13.9; 39.6; Jer 7.32; 9.24; 16.14; 19.6; 23.5, 7; 30.3; 31.27, 31, 38; 33.14; 48.12' 49.2; 51.47, 52; Ezek 7.10; 39.8; Amos 4.2; 8.11; 9.13; Zech 14.1; Mal 3.19
– *niphal* היה (God as actant): Ezek 21.12; 38. ; 39.8
– signatory formula: 83x in Ezek
– (for) I have spoken: Ezek 5.15, 17 (12.25, 28); 17.21, 24; 21.22, 37; 22.14; 23.34; 24.14; 26.5, 14; 28.10; 30.12; 34.24; 36.36; 37.14; 38.5, 8; 39.8

9 ויצאו ישבי ערי ישראל
ובערו והשיקו בנשק ומגן וצנה
בקשת ובחצים
ובמקל יד וברמח
ובערו בהם אש שבע שנים׃

– inhabit + city: Ezek 36.10, 33; 39.9
– mantlet & shield: Ezek 23.24; 26.8; 38.4; 39.9

10 ולא ישאו עצים מן השדה
ולא יחטבו מן היערים
כי בנשק יבערו אש
ושללו את שלל הם
ובזזו את בזזיהם
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- take spoil: Isa 10.6; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10 (cf. Jer 49.32)
- seize plunder: Isa 10.6; Ezek 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10 (cf. Jer 49.32)
- spoil + plunder: Isa 10.2, 6; Jer 49.32; Ezek 7.21; 29.19; 38.12, 13; 39.10
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

11 והיה ביום ההוא
אתן לגוג מקום שם
קבר בישראל
גי העברים קדמת הים
וחסמת היא את העברים
וקברו שם את גוג
ואת כל המונה
וקראו גיא המון גוג׃

- it will happen in that day: see 38.10
- Gog. Num 24.7 (LXX); Amos 7.1 (LXX); Ezek 38.2, 3, 14, 16, 18; 39.1 bis, 11.
- give a place (there): Josh 20.4; Judg 20.36; 1 Sam 9.22; 27.5–6; Jer 7.14, 32; Ezek 39.11
- קב״ר: Num 19.16; Ezek 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 bis, 12, 13, 14, 15 bis.
- travelers: 5.14; 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34; 39.11, 14
- crowd: 5.7; 7 (4x); 23.42; 26.13; 29.19, 30 (3x); 31.2, 18; 32 (9x); 39.11; 55x outside of Ezekiel.
- Hamon-gog/Hamonah: 2 Kgs 23.10; Jer 7.30–34; Ezek 39.11, 15 (pun on Hinnom)

12 וקברום בית ישראל
למען טהר את הארץ
שבעה חדשים׃

- קב״ר: Num 19.16; Ezek 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 bis, 12, 13, 14, 15 bis.
- house of Israel: 78x in Ezekiel; 63x elsewhere.
- purify the land: Ezek 22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 (cf. 22.26; 36.17)

13 וקברו כל עם הארץ
והיה להם לשם יום הכבדי
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- קב״ר: Num 19.16; Ezek 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 bis, 12, 13, 14, 15 bis.
- all people of land: Ezek 7.21; 12.19; 22.29; 33.2; 45.16, 22; 39.13
- glorification of God: Exod 14.18; Ezek 28.22; 39.13 (cf. Isa 23.9)
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

14 ואנשי תמיד יבדילו
עברים בארץ
מקברים את העברים
את הנותרים על פני הארץ לטהרה
מקצה שבעה חדשים יחקרו׃

- travelers/ones passing through: Ezek 5.14; 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34; 39.11, 14
- קב״ר: Num 19.16; Ezek 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 bis, 12, 13, 14, 15 bis.

– purify the land: 22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 (cf. 22.26; 36.17)

15 ועברו העברים בארץ
וראה עצם אדם
ובנה אצלו ציון
עד קברו אתו המקברים
אל גיא המון גוג׃

– travelers/ones passing through: 5.14; 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34; 39.11, 14
– human bone: Num 19.16; Ezek 39.15 (cf. Ezek 6.5; 24.4, 5, 10; 37.1–14 [10x])
– sign-post: 2 Kgs 23.17; Jer 31.21; Ezek 39.15
– קב״ר: Num 19.16; Ezek 32.22, 23, 25, 26; 37.12, 13; 39.11 bis, 12, 13, 14, 15 bis.
– Hamon-gog/Hamonah: 2 Kgs 23.10; Jer 7.30–34; 39.11, 15 (pun on Hinnom)

16 וגם שם עיר המונה
וטהרו הארץ׃

– purify the land: Ezek 22.24; 39.12, 14, 16 (cf. 22.26; 36.17)

17 ואתה בן אדם
כה אמר אדני יהוה
אמר לצפור כל כנף
ולכל חית השדה
הקבצו ובאו
האספו מסביב על זבחי
אשר אני זבח לכם
זבח גדול על הרי ישראל
ואכלתם בשר ושתיתם דם׃

– son of man: 95x in Ezek.
– thus says Adonai Yhwh: 121x in Ezek.
– speak (imperative addressed to prophet): 24x in Ezek.
– birds of every type: Ezek 17.23; 39.4, 17
– assemble and come: Isa 45.20; 49.18; 60.4; 66.18; Ezek 34.13; 37.21; 39.17
– slain as sacrificial banquet, fed to beasts: Isa 34.6–7; Ezek 39.17–20 (cf. Isa 25.6–7; 56.9; Jer 46.10; 50.25–27; Zeph 1.7–8)
– sacrifice for you: reversal of common expression זבח + ל + deity (31x in Torah and DtrH)
– mountains of Israel: Ezek 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; 38.8; 39.2, 4, 17
– eat flesh/fat + drink blood: Ezek 39.17; reversal of Lev 7.23–27

18 בשר גבורים תאכלו
ודם נשיאי הארץ תשתו
אילים כרים ועתודים פרים
מריאי בשן כלם׃

– rams, lambs, he-goats + fat and blood: Isa 34.6; Ezek 39.18 (cf. Jer 51.40)
– prince: 56x in priestly literature; Ezek 7.27; 12.10, 12; 19.1; 21.17, 30; 22.6; 26.16; 27.21; 30.13; 32.29; 34.24; 37.25; 38.2, 3; 39.1, 18; 44.3; 45.7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 22; 46.2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18; 48.21, 22

19 ואכלתם חלב לשבעה

– eat . . . for satiety: 34.3; 39.19

ושתיתם דם לשכרון מזבחי אשר זבחתי לכם׃	– eat fat, drink blood: Lev 7.23–27 – sacrifice for you: 29x in Torah
20 ושבעתם על שלחני סוס ורכב גבור וכל איש מלחמה נאם אדני יהוה׃	– horse + horsemen: Ezek 26.7; 39.20 (cf. 38.4) – signatory formula: 83x in Ezek – God's table: Ezek 39.20; Ps 78.19
21 ונתתי את כבודי בגוים וראו כל הגוים את משפטי אשר עשיתי ואת ידי אשר שמתי בהם׃	– glory (of God) upon/among nations: Isa 42.8; 48.11; 66.19; Ezek 39.21 (cf. 28.22) – all nations will see: Isa 52.10; 62.2; 66.19 (without כל); Ezek 39.21 – judgment I executed: common in Torah, esp. Deut (5.31; 12.1; 17.11; etc.)
22 וידעו בית ישראל כי אני יהוה אלהיהם מן היום ההוא והלאה׃	– house of Israel: 78x in Ezek; 63x elsewhere in HB – recognition formula: 58x in Ezek – Yhwh their God: Ezek 28.26; 34.30; 39.22, 28 (24x elsewhere in HB)
23 וידעו הגוים כי בעונם גלו בית ישראל על אשר מעלו בי ואסתר פני מהם ואתנם ביד צריהם ויפלו בחרב כלם׃	– nations will know that: Ezek 22.16; 36.23; 37.28; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 23 – house of Israel: 78x in Ezek; 63x elsewhere in HB – unfaithful to me: Lev 26.40; Ezek 17.20; 20.27; 39. 23, 26 – hide my face from them: Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20; Isa 8.17; 54.8; Jer 16.17; Ezek 39.23, 24, 29 – deliver into hand of enemies: cf. Lev 26.25; Josh 21.44; Judg 16.24; 2 Kgs 21.14; Jer 20.5; 34.20, 21; Ezek 39.23[58] – fall by sword (all of them): Ezek 5.12; 6.12; 11.10; 17.21; 23.25; 24.21; 25.13; 30.5, 6, 17; 32.12, 20, 22, 23, 24; 33.27; 35.8; 39.23
24 כטמאתם וכפשעיהם עשיתי אתם ואסתר פני מהם׃	– "as/according to" + noun or inf. con. + "I acted/will act": 7.27; 16.59; 20.44; 35.11, 15; 39.24 (cf. 31.11) – hide my face from them: Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20; Isa 8.17; 54.8; Jer 16.17; Ezek 39.23, 24, 29

[58] This is a common Deuteronomic expression, though the author of GO renders it differently. Everywhere else in the HB (except Neh 9.27) the locution is נתן + ב- + אויב (not צר).

25 לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה
עתה אשיב את שבות[59] יעקב
ורחמתי כל בית ישראל
וקנאתי לשם קדשי׃

- thus says Adonai Yhwh: 121x in Ezek.
- restore the fortunes: Ezek 16.53; 39.25
- Jacob: Ezek 28.25; 39.25
- have mercy on house of Israel: Ezek 39.25; Hos 1.6 ("house of Israel" is distinctive of Ezek [8.10; 12.24; 13.9; 17.2; 20.40; 33.20; 39.25; 43.7])
- my holy name: Lev 20.3; 22.2, 32; Ezek 20.39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7, 25; Amos 2.7

26 ונשו את כלמתם
ואת־כל מעלם
אשר מעלו בי
בשבתם על אדמתם לבטח
ואין מחריד׃

- bear your/their shame: Ezek 16.52, 54 (61–63); 34.29; 36.6, 7 (31); 39.26.
- their unfaithfulness by which they were unfaithful with me: Lev 26.40; Ezek 20.27; 39.23, 26 (cf. 17.20)
- dwell securely: Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5; Ezek 28.26 bis; 34.28 (25, 27); 38.8, 11, 14; 39.6, 26
- dwell upon their land: Ezek 28.25; 36.17; 39.26
- land (attenuated form of "land of Israel"): Ezek 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20 bis; 39.26, 28
- no one to terrify: Lev 26.6; Deut 28.26; Isa 17.2; Jer 7.33; 30.10; 46.27; Ezek 34.28; 39.26; Mic 4.4; Nah 2.12; Zeph 3.3

27 בשובבי אותם מן העמים
וקבצתי אתם מאצרות איביהם
ונקדשתי בם
לעיני הגוים רבים׃

- return (שוב) used for exile: Ezek 34.4, 16; 39.27
- gathered from lands of their enemies: Lev 26.34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44; Ezek 20.34, 41; 34.13; 39.27
- display holiness before the eyes of (the nations): Lev 22.36; 26.45; Ezek 20.41; 28.25; 39.27
- in the eyes of nations: Lev 26.45; Ezek 5.8; 20.9, 14, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25; 36.23; 38.16, 23; 39.27

28 וידעו כי אני יהוה אלהיהם
בהגלותי אתם אל הגוים
וכנסתים על אדמתם
ולא אותיר עוד מהם שם׃

- recognition formula:
- Yhwh their God: 28.26; 34.30; 39.22, 28 (24x outside of Ezek)
- land (attenuated form of "land of Israel"): Ezek 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20 bis; 39.26, 28

[59] Kethib שבית.

29 ולא אסתיר עוד פני מהם
אשר שפכתי את רוחי
על בית ישראל
נאם אדני יהוה׃

- hide my face: Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20; Isa 8.17; 54.8; Jer 16.17; Ezek 39.23, 24, 29
- (my) spirit: Ezek 11.19; 37.1, 5, 6, 8, 9 (3x), 10 bis, 14; 39.29
- pour out my spirit: Ezek 39.29; Joel 3.1–2
- house of Israel: 78x in Ezek
- signatory formula: 83x in Ezek

D. Conclusions: The Form of the Gog Oracles

At end of the last chapter I drew three conclusions from the evidence presented there: (1) GO mirrors Ezekiel's idiolect and compositional style. (2) The similarities between the language of Ezekiel and GO, though pervasive, are superficial; they represent an Ezekielian "face" that has been placed upon a younger composition. Thus, the author of GO should not be identified with the prophet Ezekiel or his "school," to whom the greater part of the book is attributed.[60] (3) There is supporting evidence from the features of Ezekiel itself and from the versions that GO was inserted into the book of Ezekiel, and that the likely boundaries of this insertion were 38.1 and 39.29.

In light of the additional evidence marshaled in this chapter, these arguments can be made with greater force and nuance. GO does manifest an Ezekielian linguistic profile. More locutions appear in GO that are from Ezekiel than from any other source. Still, GO also carries the imprint of many other sources: non-P, Deuteronomistic literature, P (law and narrative), H, Isaiah (First, Second, and Third), Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Zephaniah. No less than fifty-four discrete locutions from the Torah and Prophets were discussed in this chapter. When aligned with the fifty-seven Ezekielian locutions identified in chapter 2, GO manifests a remarkable density of borrowed linguistic material; it is replete with borrowed language. Granting that verses are an arbitrary measuring device, it is still notable that no verse within GO lacks at least one borrowed locution (38.7; 39.24). Other verses, barring the occasional word (usually a particle, pronoun, or preposition), were composed in their entirety by cobbling together locutions from various sources (38.1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 14, 18, 23; 39.1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 26, 29). If evidence accumulated to this point holds, then Zimmerli's thesis from four decades ago is confirmed. After considering the "bricks of the Gog Prophecy" he concluded that "traditions from various spheres are

[60] For an important qualification of this point see p. 83, n. 108.

brought together into a new creation."[61] More precisely, we might say, "*textual materials* from various spheres are brought together into a new creation."

This leads directly to one of the principal arguments of this monograph, namely: GO is unlike any other text within the HB. *It is pastiche, an extreme example of a conflate text*. A brand new composition, with a unique argument and suasive intent, was created as a supplement to Ezekiel by combining existing bits and pieces of linguistic material. There are no parallels texts within the HB that have been constructed by means of this same compositional technique. To be sure, there are many texts in the HB that are dependent upon an array of antecedent sources, the prayers of Daniel and Nehemiah, for example.[62] Nonetheless, there is no other biblical text, apart from the occasional brief insertion and Ezek 36.23c–28, that has been constructed almost entirely from verbatim or near-verbatim pieces of linguistic material in the way that GO has been. The earliest comparable examples are from Second Temple Jewish parabiblical texts.

Finally, there is good reason to conclude that *GO is the product of a single author*. The compositional technique at work, pastiche, is observable throughout GO, evident in all its parts. There is no pericope or sequence of verses in which the density of borrowed material is dramatically lower than is the norm for GO. In other words, there is no evidence that GO was composed by different redactors using different techniques. Further, there is no evidence that GO originally ended before 39.29. This rare compositional technique is persistently present throughout GO, from 38.1 to 39.29. GO, then, represents a single scribal "event."

It is not particularly germane to this study whether or not the author of GO is identified as part of an Ezekielian "school." Still, on balance, I do not think that such a designation is meaningful in this case. The notion that prophets had schools of disciples was first suggested for Isaiah (based, in part, upon Isa 8.16) and was subsequently extended to all three of the major writing prophets, whether or not their books hinted at such a community.[63] In the case of Ezekiel, the observations that (a) there are clear indications of redactional activity within the book, and yet (b) the book retains a distinctive linguistic style, led naturally to the suggestion that the book was

[61] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 299.

[62] See, e.g., Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (EJL 14; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 55–116.

[63] This postulation was put forward by Sigmund Mowinckel in *Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in Light of the Study of the Growth and History of the Tradition* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1946), 67–70. My objection to the notion that the author of GO was a member of an Ezekielian "school" is similar to that of Ronald E. Clements with regard to the book of Isaiah ("The Unity of the Book of Isaiah," *Int* 36 [1982]: 117–29, esp. 119).

the product of an Ezekielian circle of disciples.[64] However, in as much as the author of GO lived and worked centuries after the prophet Ezekiel died (as will be argued below), in what sense might one say that he was a "disciple" of the prophet? What is clear from the evidence is that the author of GO was a highly literate, scribal artist who was well-studied in the rhetoric, idiolect, and ideology of the book of Ezekiel.

In the following chapters, I turn my attention to all varieties of scriptural reuse in GO, the uses to which the author put all the textual building blocks identified in chapters two and three. I will explore all the varieties of textual reuse in GO, not just reused locutions but images, themes, and literary structures. Each structural layer of GO, large and small, will be examined. I begin with those few texts that exerted the widest influence on GO, giving form to the whole composition. I then move on to examine GO pericope-by-pericope, uncovering and explaining all its layers and types of literary reuse.

[64] In recent years this side discussion of Ezekiel studies has centered, predominantly, around two texts, Ezek 37.1–14 and Ezek 40–48, and has been conducted almost entirely in German-language publications. See M. Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen: Studien zur zweiten Tempelvision Ezechiels (Ez 40–48)* (BBB 129; Berlin: Philo Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001), T. A. Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan: Redaktionskritische Studien zu Ez 40–48* (BZAW 287; Boston and Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), and summative comments by F-L. Hossfeld in E. Zenger et al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*: *Siebte, durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage mit einem Grundriss der Geschichte Israels von Christian Frevel*, 7th ed (ST 1,1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008), 503–4.

Chapter 4

Examining the Reuse: *Vorbilder*

To this point, I have focused on discrete locutions that appear both in GO and in other scriptural texts. Borrowed locutions can do much more than infuse a text with a linguistic flavor. If they are rare or distinctive, reused locutions can effectively direct readers to their source text(s). Recognizing *how much* of an evoked text is in view, however, is not always as clear. A locution may be borrowed simply because it is a particularly well-turned or evocative phrase, in which case the locution might not point to a context at all. A borrowed locution may have been chosen to appeal to an idea or concept in a source text, for which the borrowed locution is a distinguishing expression. Or, a locution may be borrowed to draw attention to a larger text: an entire verse or pericope. In this last case, the parameters of the source text can be indicated in more than one way. An author can, for example, reuse several locutions from across the source text, enabling the reader to map its boundaries with some specificity. Less precisely, the author can use just one or two distinctive locutions to allude to an entire context, trusting the reader to recognize that the two texts, the alluding text and the evoked text, complement one another in some way, whether through their themes, topics, arguments, or images. The author of GO used a wide variety of techniques to evoke dozens of antecedent texts, ranging in size from an individual phrase to a whole chapter.

I begin with three texts that the author of GO used as *Vorbilder*: Ezek 28.25–26; Ezek 6.1–14; and Ps 79.1–4. The term *Vorbild* has no constant, technical definition within the biblical disciplines.[1] I use the term to refer

[1] Gregory Beale describes the phenomena in terms of the author's motives, when the author "takes over a large . . . context or sequence as models after which to pattern his creative compositions" ("Revelation," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honor of Barnabas Lindars* [ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 325; see also E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, "Apokalypsis and Propheteia. The Book of Revelation in the Context of Early Christian Prophecy," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* [ed. J. Lamberecht; BETL 53; Leuven: J. Duculot, 1980], 105–28, esp. 108). Many German scholars, following Walther Zimmerli, use the term *Vorlage* for any precursor text ("Das Phänomen der "Fortschreibung" im Buche Ezechiel," in *Prophecy: Essays Presented to Georg Fohrer on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, 6 September 1980*, ed. J. A. Emerton [BZAW 150; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980], 174–91). Anja Klein, for example,

to a literary model or template for an entire text, in this case GO.[2] The three texts identified here as *Vorbilder* of GO have certain commonalities, and, taken collectively, we can find within them virtually every scene and motif that makes up GO. Ezekiel 28.25–26 resembles a précis of GO, stripped of all the details and embroidery. Ezekiel 6.1–14 supplied many of those details; it contains remarkable parallels to the plot of GO and governs many of its images. Those elements of the plot of GO that have no parallel in Ezek 6.1–14 can be found in Ps 79. Though these three texts together form the foundation of GO, the author of GO did not use the same techniques to evoke the three. As we will see, he employed an assortment of techniques to evoke them.

A. Ezekiel 28.25–26: "When I Gather the House of Israel . . ."

The oracles against Tyre and Sidon (chs. 26–28) close with two verses that do not address a specific people or a specific offense against Judah. Ezekiel 28.25–26, speaking about Israel's future restoration, announces judgment on the "peoples" (v. 25) and "nations" (v. 25) in general, "those despising them round about" (v. 26). The location of 28.25–26 within the oracles against the nations leads one to suppose it is concerned with the seven nations addressed in chapters 25–32, who are to be judged when

though she does not define the term, uses *Vorlage* in a way that is similar to my use of *Vorbild* (*Schriftauslegung*, 24–59; "Prophecy Continued: Reflections on Inner-biblical Exegesis in the Book of Ezekiel," *VT* 60/4 [2010]: 577, 580).

[2] *Vorbilder*, then, are relative to the size of the text in view. When a large text is in view, as with GO, naturally, its *Vorbilder* themselves must be large enough to include enough content to govern the whole. Ezek 34, which is dependent upon and expands upon Jer 23.1–8, is a comparable example. Its reuse of Jer 23.1–8 is betrayed by a similar structure as well as many repeated locutions. Markers of the allusion include the following: ראה (6x in Jer 23.1–6 // 32x in Ezek 34); אבד (Jer 23.1 // Ezek 34.4, 16); צאן מרעיתי (Jer 23.1 // Ezek 34.31); פוץ (Jer 23.1 // Ezek 34.5, 21); עמי (Jer 23.2 // Ezek 34.30); נדח (Jer 23.2, 3 // Ezek 34.4, 16); קבץ (Jer 23.3 // Ezek 34.13, 16); נוה (Jer 23.3 // Ezek 34.14 [2x]); שוב (Jer 23.3; 3.16 // Ezek 34.16); קום (Jer 23.4, 5 // Ezek 34.23, 29); משפט (Jer 23.5 // Ezek 34.16); בטח (Jer 23.6 // Ezek 34.25, 27, 28); אדמתם (Jer 23.8 // Ezek 34.27). See esp. John W. Miller (*Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht* [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955], 106), Block (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 275–76n17), and Klein (*Schriftauslegung*, 24–59). See also Allen (*Ezekiel 20–48*, 161), Bertholet (*Hesekiel*, 119), Cooke (*Ezekiel*, 373), Eichrodt (*Ezekiel*, 469–70), Fohrer (*Ezechiel*, 191–92), Garscha (*Ezechielbuch*, 201–202), Christoph Levin (*Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985], 219), and Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 213–14). A minority position sees both texts (Ezek 34.1–31 and Jer 23.1–8) as reflections of a common tradition (so Hals [*Ezekiel*, 251], and W. Gross ["Israel's Hope for the Renewal of the State," *JNES* 14 (1988): 125]).

Israel returns from exile. The author of GO, however, understood it as an announcement of judgment against the nations of the earth.

To evoke Ezek 28.25–26, the author of GO reused most of its phrases and clauses.[3] (Locutions that are identical in both 28.25–26 and GO are underlined.)

EZEKIEL 28.25–26	GO
(25) Thus says Lord Yhwh, "When I gather the house of Israel from the peoples among whom they were scattered, then I will manifest my holiness among them in the sight of the nations. And they will dwell upon their land which I gave to my servant Jacob. (26) And they will dwell upon it securely. And they will build houses, and they will plant vineyards, and they will dwell securely. When I have executed judgments upon all those despising them round about, then they will know that I am Yhwh their God."	בקבצי את־בית ישראל // 38.8 מן העמים // 38.8 ונקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים // 38.23, 39.27 וישבו על אדמתם // 39.26 יעקב // 39.25 וישבו עליה לבטח // 39.26 וישבו לבטח // 39.26 בעשותי שפטים // 39.21 וידעו אני יהוה אלהיהם // 39.22, 28

The author of GO not only drew attention to 28.25–26 by repeating most of its locutions verbatim but also by distributing them widely and, in some cases, repeatedly across the new composition.[4] Two of the borrowed locutions *only* occur in 28.25–26 and GO. "I will manifest my holiness before the eyes of the nations," ונקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים, appears in 28.25, 38.23, and 39.27. "They will dwell upon their land," וישבו על אדמתם, only occurs in 28.26 and 39.26.[5] Also notable, here in 28.25–26 the author has combined the locutions "dwell securely," ישב + בטח, and "dwell upon their land," וישבו על אדמתם. The former is a distinctive locution of H (Lev 25.18–19;

[3] See, e.g., Allen (*Ezekiel 20–48*, xxvi–xxvii, 98), Blenkinsopp (*Ezekiel*, 126), Daniel Block ("Gog in the Prophetic Tradition: A New Look at Ezekiel XXXVIII 17," *VT* 62 [1992]: 155), Hossfeld (*Untersuchungen*, 493), Friedrich Fechter (*Bewältigung der Katastrophe: Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Fremdvölkersprüchen im Ezechielbuch* (BZAW 208; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992), 266–81, esp. 274–81), Pohlmann (*Hesekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 20–48*, 398), Wevers (*Ezekiel*, 158–59), and Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 100–1), all of whom argue that 28.25–26 and GO have been linked by repeated locutions.

[4] A similar phenomena occurs in 11Q13 (Melchizedek), for example, where key locutions from a source text are replicated in several places in an effort to expose the originating text (see Timothy Lim, "Biblical Quotations in the Pesharim and the Text of the Bible – Methodological Considerations," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* [ed. Edward Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London and New Castle, DE: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002], 73–79).

[5] Contrast the locution, "dwell upon the land," ישב + על/ב- + ארץ, which occurs fifty-seven times in the HB, including Ezek 26.20; 36.28; 37.25; 38.12.

Lev 26.5). The latter is known only from Deut 30.20, Jer 23.8, 25.5 (without pronoun); 35.15 (without pronoun), and Ezekiel.[6] The combination of these two elements, however, is unique to Ezek 28.25–26 and 39.26, and is an unambiguous marker of a relationship between them.[7] Two of the remaining shared locutions appear only in Ezek 28.25–26, GO, and other texts from Ezekiel that are evoked by GO: בקבצי את בית ישראל, 11.17, 28.25, 29.13, and 38.8; יעקב, 20.5, 28.25, 37.25, and 39.25.[8] The number of locutions shared by these two texts is remarkable and points to a deliberate act of borrowing. The observation that many of these locutions are unique to Ezek 28.25–26 and GO, or nearly so, places the connection beyond doubt.

That 28.25–26 served as a template for GO is also indicated by the remarkable correspondence between the two texts in their themes and arguments. Regarding shared themes, both texts envision a return of the whole nation from Diaspora (28.25; 38.8; 39.25, 27). Both speak of peaceful resettlement of the land (28.26; 38.8, 11, 14; 39.26), manifestation and restoration of Yhwh's holiness (28.25; 38.16, 23; 39.7, 25, 27), judgment upon the nations, and acknowledgment of Yhwh by Israel and the nations (28.26; 38.23; 39.6, 7, 22, 28). In both texts, the restoration will awaken Israel to a profound realization of Yhwh's sovereignty (28.26; 39.22, 28).[9] Finally, these topics are introduced in GO in the same order that they appear in 28.25–26.

More telling yet, there are three features of 28.25–26 that do not appear in Ezekiel previously (1.1–28.24), elements that make it particularly relevant to the plot and argument of GO. (1) In both texts, judgment on the surrounding nations will accompany the restoration of Israel. The reason

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[6] The relative dates of these books are fairly certain. Both Deuteronomy and Jeremiah were known to the redactors of Ezekiel, to say nothing of the author of GO. See Miller, *Verhältnis*, 118–19, 184–85; K. W. Carley, *Ezekiel Among the Prophets* (London: SCM Press, 1975), 51–57; R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 284; Levitt-Kohn, *New Heart*, 86–95; Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 42–45, 132–38, 180–83, 204–07.

[7] The two parts of the locution (verb and prepositional phrase) also occur, broken apart, in 38.16.

[8] Greenberg (*Ezekiel 21–37*, 595), following the Talmud (*b. Shabbat* 118a), says Jacob is associated with "the eschatological restoration of the land to the people," because "heritage without limits" is promised to Jacob alone (Gen 28.14, "you will burst forth westward and eastward, and northward and southward").

[9] There is some question as to who is intended by "they will know that I am Yhwh their God" in 28.26. The immediate antecedent of the third-person plural verb ידעו is השאטים, "the ones despising [them]." But, nowhere in the book is Yhwh referred to as the God of the nations. Most commentators take "they" to be Israel (see, e.g., Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 595; Paul M. Joyce, *Divine Initiative and Human Response in Ezekiel* [JSOTSup 51; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989], 91, 160 note 77).

given for this judgment is that they are contemptuous of Israel (v. 26).[10] (2) In both texts, any nation which harbors exiles will recognize God's holiness, when the restoration occurs (28.25 // 39.27). (3) Finally, 28.25–26 and GO are the only two texts in Ezekiel to argue that Israel will only acknowledge that "I am Yhwh" when God has restored Israel *and* judged the nations.[11] All this evidence, corroborates Daniel Block's argument that, "the Gog pericope may be interpreted as a full-blown commentary on xxviii 25–6."[12]

This quote from Block underlines the dangling question of direction of dependence. Among commentators, there is no consensus as to which of these two, Ezek 28.25–26 or GO, is the evoked text and which is the alluding text. Fohrer, for example, claims that 28.25–26 borrowed the locution "manifest my holiness" (ונקדשתי) from GO. Wevers contends that 28.25–26 is a late redactional addition, excerpted from chapters 34–39. Blenkinsopp and Block argue that GO is directly inspired by 28.25–26.[13] That 28.25–26 is an addition to the oracles against the nations, however, is almost universally accepted.[14] It is an unanticipated interruption of these oracles, clearly marked as an addition by *Wiederaufnahme* (parallel elements underlined):

– 28.24 מכל סביבתם השאטים אותם וידעו כי אני אדני יהוה
– 28.26 בכל השאטים אתם מסביבתם וידעו כי אני אדני יהוה אלהיהם

[10] In Ezekiel's oracles against the nations, the nations' mocking and exploitation of Israel's downfall are viewed as an offense against God himself, building on the motif that the exile damaged God's reputation (// 20.44)

[11] Though not an argument, one could add to this list the observation that only GO and 28.25–26 include a description of the physical conditions of the restoration community. Drawing on images of peaceful settlement from Deut 20.5–6, Jer 29.5–6, Lev 25.18–19, and Lev 26.5, the restoration is described as follows: "they will live upon it [the land] securely, and they will build houses, and they will plant vineyards, then they will live securely" (28.26). The combination of building houses and planting vineyards is indicative of permanent settlement (Deut 20.5–6; Isa 65.21; cf.: Jer 29.5–6), like we see in GO.

[12] Daniel I. Block, "Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 155.

[13] Fohrer, *Ezechiel*, 164; Wevers, *Ezekiel*, 158–59; Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 126; Block, "Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 155.

[14] The primary arguments that 28.25–26 is an addition to the oracles against the nations are the following: (1) it is set off from 28.20–24 by a new introductory formula; (2) it addresses all the nations around Israel, rather than targeting one specific nation; (3) it includes an oracle of deliverance for Israel, the only one within the oracles against the nations; and (4) it uses locutions borrowed from sources commonly taken to be exilic or post-exilic ("house" + "vineyard" to describe peaceful settlement // Deut 20.5–6; Jer. 29.5–6; Isa 65.21; see A. Berlin, "Jeremiah 29:5–7: A Deuteronomic Allusion," *HAR* 8 [1984]: 3–11). See, Fechter, *Bewältigung der Katastrophe*, 260–81. One of the few exceptions is Greenberg, who criticizes the attempts of Fohrer, Wevers, Eichrodt, and Zimmerli to label vv. 25–26 as an expansion (*Ezekiel 21–37*, 597–99).

Unfortunately, nothing in the oracle points to a particular period or social circumstance that would clearly indicate its provenance.[15]

Although the absolute date of 28.25–26 cannot be established, we can determine its date relative to GO. The schema of future history outlined in GO is a refinement of that in 28.25–26. GO follows the thesis presented for the first time here in 28.25–26 – that judgment on the nations will accompany restoration – but GO develops this picture in more detail. In GO, there is a partial resettlement, followed by the invasion of Gog and destruction of the nations following him. This is followed, in turn, by the completion of return and restoration. This reformulation and expansion of the ideas in 28.25–26 points to a later date for GO.[16]

To return to the quote by Dan Block above: his point is a good one, but it should be qualified that the author of GO does not "comment" on Ezek 28.25–26. It does not clarify, overturn, or alter anything in Ezek 28.25–26. *The author of GO expands upon Ezek 28.25–26 (voluminously) after mining it for linguistic material*. Absent GO, the subject of the vindication of Israel is entirely missing from the book of Ezekiel. The addition of Ezek 28.25–26 to the oracles against the nations, which juxtaposed the restora-

[15] Despite this, most critics assign the oracle to the Second Temple period. Eichrodt (*Ezekiel*, 397–98) dates the Sidon oracle (28.20–26) to the post-exilic period "at least a half century after the prophet." He gives no reason for the arbitrary "half century," but he confidently assigns the Sidon oracle to a priestly redactor. He does so because it combines the notions of holiness, glory and punishment, which he thinks are reflective of P texts like Exod 14.17–18 and Lev 10.3. Eichrodt's argument falls a bit flat when we recognize that the book of Ezekiel already combined these ideas in chs. 8–11 and that Ezekiel was a priest himself. Pohlmann (*Hesekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 20–48*, 398) also argues that 28.25–26 is a late redactional insertion from the post-exilic period. He bases this judgment on the appearance of certain locutions that he takes as fingerprints of a post-exilic redactor (esp., ונקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים [28.25], and the word pair קבץ + פוץ [28.25]). N. N. Mendecki ("Postdeuteronomistische Redaktion von Ez 28, 25–26?," *BN* 71 [1994]: 66–73) argues that 28.25–26 is post-exilic because it alludes to Deut 20.5–6, which he places at or near the end of the exile. These are all secondary arguments inasmuch as they are based upon prior assumptions regarding the dates of the source texts.

[16] One of the locutions shared by 28.25–26 and Ezek 38–39 clearly was borrowed by the author of GO and not vice versa. Ezek 38.8 is an amalgam of locutions from several contexts. The locution ישב + בטח occurs at the very end of the verse, and has not been grammatically adjusted to match the present context. "After many days you will be visited. In the last years you will come to the land (fem. sg.) – the one brought back (fem. sg.) from the sword, gathered (fem. sg.) out of many peoples – unto the mountains (masc. pl.) of Israel, which were a perpetual waste (masc. pl.), but it (fem. sg.) is brought forth out of the nations, and they (3rd pl.) dwelt securely all of them." The locution וישבו לבטח כלם makes little sense applied to "mountains" (the only 3rd plural antecedent). It must refer to the people in another context. This is not irrefutable proof that GO borrowed from 28.25–26, because the locution could have been derived from 28.25–26 (3x) or from 34.25–28 (3x).

tion of Israel with judgment on the surrounding nations, highlighted this gap. It established a relationship between judgment, restoration, and universal acknowledgment of Yhwh's status and sovereignty (28.26b), but it did not articulate how they might relate. The author of GO filled out 28.25–26, in the end, creating a detailed portrait of the sequence of events that would establish and complete the restoration, the judgment of the nations, and the vindication of Yhwh's name.[17]

B. Ezekiel 6.1–14: "I Am Bringing a Sword Upon You . . ."

Ezekiel 6.1–14 is an oracle in two acts (vv. 1–10, vv. 11–14). In 6.1–10 the prophet announces judgments against the mountains of Israel, because they have been defiled by idolatry, a defilement which requires repurification. The land will not be purified by efforts at reform (2 Kgs 23.4–20) but by the sword of God, which will cleanse the land by making it a waste. In 6.11–14 the prophet translates the metaphor "God's sword" into terms from the covenant curses of Lev 26: God will kill pagan Judeans with sword and pestilence; he will destroy the high places and defile the sites with the corpses of the worshipers; he will surrender Israel to invaders, and her cities will be destroyed. (Locutions shared by Ezek 6 and GO are included in Hebrew.)

(1) The word of Yhwh came to me, saying, (2) "Son of man (בן אדם), set your face against (שים פניך אל) the mountains of Israel (הרי ישראל), and prophesy against them (והנבא אל יהם), (3) and say, 'Mountains of Israel (הרי ישראל), hear the word of Lord Yhwh. Thus says Lord Yhwh to the mountains, and to the hills, to the channels, and to the valleys (גיא), "Behold I am bringing a sword upon you (הנני אני מביא על יכם חבר), and I will destroy your high places. (4) And your altars will be desolate, and your incense-stands will be broken. And I will cast down (והפל תי) your slain in front of your idols. (5) And I will cast the corpses of the children of Israel before their idols, and I will scatter your bones (עצמותיכם) around your altars. (6) In all your dwelling places (מושבותיכם), the towns (הערים) will be laid waste (תחרבנה), and the high places will be desolate, so

[17] Recall David Carr's observation that "A text tends to be later than its parallel when it: 1. Verbally parallels that text and yet includes substantial pluses vis à vis that text. 2. Appears to enrich its parallel (fairly fully preserved) with fragments from various locations in the Bible (less completely preserved). 3. Includes a plus that fills what could have been perceived as an apparent gap in its parallel. 4. Included expansive material in character speeches, particularly theophanic speech. 5. Has an element which appears to be an adaptation of an element in the other text to shifting circumstances/ideas. 6. Combines linguistic phenomena from disparate strata . . ." ("Method," 126). All of these criteria apply in this case (excepting number four which is irrelevant to this example) and support the conclusion that Ezek 28.25–26 is earlier than GO.

that your altars may be laid waste (יחרבו) and repaid,[18] and your idols may be broken and destroyed and your incense-stands may be hewn down, and your works be wiped out. (7) And the slain will fall (נפל) in your midst and you will know that I am Yhwh (וידעתם כי אני יהוה). (8) Yet will I leave [some] over; there will be fugitives of the sword (פליטי חרב) for you among the nations, when you are scattered among the countries.[19] (9) And your fugitives will remember me among the nations where they have been exiled, I who was grieved by their fornicating heart which turned away from me, and by their licentious eyes which turned to their idols. And they will loathe themselves for the sins which they have committed (הרעות אשר עשו), all their abominations. (10) And they will know that I am Yhwh (וידעו כי אני יהוה). I did not speak (דברתי) in vain in order to do this injury to them."

(11) Thus says the Lord Yhwh, "Slap with your hand, and stamp with your foot, and say, 'Ah!' for all the evil abominations of the house of Israel (בית ישראל) who will fall (יפלו) by the sword (בחרב), by the famine, and by pestilence (ובדבר). (12) He who is far off will die by pestilence (דבר), and he who is near will fall by the sword (בחרב יפול). And the one who remains and the one who is preserved will die by the famine.[20] And I will expend my anger (חמתי) upon them. (13) And you will know that I am Yhwh when their slain are among their idols, around their altars, upon every high hill, on all the tops of the mountains (ההרים), and under every green tree, and under every leafy oak, [any] place where they did offer a pleasing aroma to all their idols.[21] (14) So I will stretch out my hand against them (ידי על יהם), and make the land an utter desolation, more than the wil-

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[18] For MT's ויאשמו, "they will be guilty/repaid," most English versions read "ruined." Many commentators appeal to LXX for the translation "ruined," but LXX has a single verb ἐξολεθρευθῇ where MT has two: יחרבו ויאשמו. Zimmerli argues that LXX represents יחרבו, and that ויאשמו was added to the MT from v. 4a (*Ezekiel 1*, 179). Lyons has shown that 6.6b יחרבו ויאשמו is an exegetical alteration of Lev 26.31, חרבה והשמותי, exchanging the expected שמם, "be waste," into אשם, "incur guilt/repay." (Lyons, *Law to Prophecy*, 98–99.) This creates a deliberate pun on the אשם offering introduced in Lev 5.14–26. (See the discussion in Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* [AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991], 339–45).

[19] The two verbs represented in the MT, והותרתי בהיות, are a double reading. LXX lacks והותרתי, which requires an object. It seems likely that proto-MT had the verb יתר, and the *Vorlage* of LXX had the verb היה. MT represents both and attempts a synthesis by making היה temporal. (See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Double Readings in the Masoretic Text," *Textus* 1 [1960]: 144–84.)

[20] For "the one who is preserved," הנצור (*qal* pass. ptc. נצ״ר), LXX reads "one who is besieged," ὁ περιεχόμενος (*niphal* צו״ר). Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 136) understands הנשאר והנצור as a hendiadys "he who is left and guarded" (does he mean "left on guard"?) but there are no other examples to validate this proposal.

[21] Ezek 6.13–14 appears to be an expansion on 6.1–7, inserted by *Wiederaufnahme* (note the repetition of the recognition formula, and the switch to third person) and based on Deut 12.2 (see also 1 Kgs 14.23; Jer 2.20). The MT was further supplemented by additions from Hos 4.13, "on all the tops of the mountains" and Ezek 20.28, "any high hill or any leafy tree."

derness of Riblat,[22] in all their habitations (מושבותיהם), and they will know that I am Yhwh (וידעו כי אני יהוה)."[23]

Ezekiel 6.1–14 describes God's judgment against the mountains of Israel for "all the evil abominations" of cultic infidelity that Israel committed there (vv. 2–3, 11, 13 [MT]). The land will be ravaged by war (vv. 3, 11–12). The people will be killed (vv. 4–5), their bodies strewn on the mountains, defiling the land.[24] The towns and cities will be laid waste (v. 6), and the survivors will be exiled (v. 8). These judgments are appropriate responses to an egregious breach of the covenant, as can be anticipated from texts like Lev 26.14–45 and Deut 28.15–68. God's motive, in judging Judah, is to ensure that the people "will know I am Yhwh" (vv. 10, 14).[25] This acknowledgment of Yhwh's claim on Israel and of his sovereignty will be established by the destruction of Judah (v. 11), exile of the survivors (v. 11), and desolation of the land (v. 14). In making this case, Ezekiel adapts a theme from the Torah, namely, God "remembering" his covenant with the people (e.g., Ex 2.24; 6.5; Lev 26.42, 45).[26] The imminent destruction and deportation will lead the exiles to remember God (v. 9; cf. Pss 42.7; 63.17; 77.4) and to manifest proper feelings of remorse for their

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[22] The phrase "more than the wilderness of Diblatah" is problematic. ממדבר is a construct, suggesting "the wilderness *of* Diblatah." But דבלתה is accented as if the final *hê* is a locative, suggesting "from the wilderness *to* Diblat." My translation follows LXX which supports the vocalization of ממדבר as a construct but does not read the *hê* on דבלתה as a locative (ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπήμου Δεβλαθα). Diblat is, presumably, Riblat (simple confusion of *dalet* and *rêsh*). In 2 Kgs 25.6–7, 18–21, Riblat is the place where Nebuchadrezzar slaughtered the royal family, Judean nobles, and temple priesthood.

[23] Ezek 6.1–14 contains many locutions borrowed from Lev 26 (6.3 // Lev 26.25, 30; 6.4–5 // Lev 26.30; 6.6 // Lev 26.30–31; 6.8 // Lev 26.33; 6.11–12 // Lev 26.25; 6.13 // Lev 26.30–31). On the relationship of the Holiness Code to Ezekiel see Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*.

[24] Otto Eissfeldt, "Schwerterschlagene bei Hesekiel," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to T. H. Robinson* (ed. H. H. Rowley; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1950), 73–81.

[25] The recognition formula is always associated with an action of God's that is intended to result in the addressees' acknowledgment of God's rightful power over them (Walther Zimmerli, "Knowledge of God According to the Book of Ezekiel," in *I Am Yahweh* [ed. Walter Brueggemann; trans. Douglas W. Scott; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982], 91–98; D. Michel, "Nur ich bin Jahwe. Erwägungen zur sogenannten Selbstvorstellungsformel," *ThViat* 11 [1973]: 145–56 [esp. 151–54]; Joyce, *Divine Initiative*, 89–90, 94–95). The notion that judgment will lead Israel to acknowledge Yhwh appears frequently in Ezekiel: 5.13; 6.7, 10, 13, 14; 7.4, 9, 27; 11.10, 12; 12.15, 16, 20; 13.9, 21, 23; 14.8; 17.21; 20.26; 22.16; 23.49; 24.24, 27; 39.28.

[26] S. J. de Vries, "Remembrance in Ezekiel: A Study of an Old Testament Theme," *Int* 16 (1962): 58–64.

acts of infidelity. This self-loathing will result in the acknowledgment that "I am Yhwh."[27]

Although there are many semantic correspondences between Ezek 6 and GO, the author of GO evoked 6.1–14, principally, by repeating its dominant catch-phrase: הרי ישראל, "mountains of Israel." This locution is most distinctive of Ezek 6 (vv. 2, 3, cf. 13), 36 (vv. 1, 4, 8), and GO (38.8; 39.4, 17). The unanticipated recurrence of "mountains of Israel" in GO suggests a connection to Ezek 6 and/or 36. Ezekiel 6.1–14 addresses itself to the mountains of Israel because that is where the sins of idolatry take place. Ezekiel 36.1–14 is the counterpoint to the judgment against the mountains in 6.1–14, wherein the judgments levied against them in 6.1–14 are reversed. The mountains of Israel will again be settled, fertile, and rebuilt (esp. vv. 9–11). There is no similar reason for the author of GO to use the expression הרי ישראל (as opposed to אדמת ישראל, for example) unless the author is forging a link between the one or both of these two texts.[28]

The link (הרי ישראל) appears to point the reader back to 6.1–14. This is suggested by the remarkable correspondence of images, events, and themes between Yhwh's judgments against Judah in 6.1–14 and those against Gog and his allies in GO. In both texts, God summons a foreign invader to the mountains of Israel (6.3; 38.4, 39.2) for the purpose of executing his judgments (38.22).[29] In 6.1–14, the Judeans are slain when God brings his "sword" (Babylon) against them, because they sacrificed on the mountains.

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[27] As these themes play out in Ezekiel, the exile does not bring about the desired shame and acknowledgement of Yhwh, because the people are constitutionally corrupt, incapable of such a response. It is then argued that the restoration itself will bring about the desired shame, when the people from North and South are restored, despite the fact that they do not deserve it or even ask for it. Then again, the restoration is postponed until such a time as God will choose to transform the people, enabling them to feel shame and obey the covenant stipulations (see Ezek 16.53–63; 20.39–44; 36.16–38).

[28] Ezekiel's standard locutions for the land are אדמת ישראל, אדמה, and ארץ. All three are far more common in Ezekiel than הרי ישראל. The locution אדמת ישראל appears in 7.2; 11.17; 12.19; 22; 13.9; 18.2; 20.38, 42; 21.7, 8; 25.3, 6; 33.24; 36.6; 37.12; 38.18, 19. The locution אדמה occurs as a designation for Israel in 28.25; 34.13, 27; 36.17, 24; 37.14, 21; 38.20; 39.26, 28. The locution ארץ is extremely common in Ezekiel, occurring 173 times. It is used to refer to the land of Israel on seventy of those occasions (6.14; 7.2, 7, 23, 27; 8.12, 17; 9.9; 11.15, 17; 12.12, 19, 20; 14.13, 15, 16, 17, 19; 15.8; 16.3; 17.5, 13; 20.6, 15, 28, 38, 40, 42; 22.24, 29, 30; 23.48; 27.17; 33.2, 3, 24, 25,26, 28, 29; 34.13, 25, 27, 28, 29; 35.10; 36.5, 18, 24, 28, 34, 35; 37.22, 25; 40.2; 45.1, 4, 8, 16, 22; 46.3, 9; 47.13, 14, 15, 18, 21; 48.12, 14, 29.)

[29] The reason that Gog and his allies are deserving of judgment is not fully explained. Gog's greed for plunder is described as an "evil thought" (38.10). Otherwise, the reader is only told that God is enraged against him and seeking the opportunity to restore his reputation before the nations (38.17–19). The most that we can say, based on Ezek 28.25–26 and GO, is that the hostile nations must be destroyed before the full restoration will materialize.

In GO, God wields his "sword" (supernatural actions) against the invaders, making a sacrifice of them on the mountains (39.17–20). In the aftermath of the judgment in 6.1–14, the slain are scattered on the mountains, their bones left exposed, and the survivors, the "fugitives of the sword," are exiled. In the aftermath of the battle between God and Gog, the dead are scattered on the mountains, their bones exposed, and the exiles, "returnees from the sword," return to a land where they can dwell securely (39.28). The goal, in both cases, is the same. God smites his people in 6.1–14 and sends them into exile so they might "know that I am Yhwh" (6.7, 10). God smites Gog, so that both the house of Israel and the nations will "know that I am Yhwh" (39.22, 28). The number of correspondences is even more impressive when aligned in parallel:[30]

EZEKIEL 6.1–14	GO
1. God brings his sword upon the mountains (6.3, 11).	1. God brings his sword upon the mountains (38.21).
2. People sacrifice on the mountains (6.3–6).	2. God sacrifices on the mountains (39.17–20).
3. The mountains are made a ruin (6.6, 14).	3. The mountains are a ruin (38.8, 12).
4. The slain of Israel are scattered upon the mountains (6.4, 5, 7, 13).	4. The slain of Gog and his allies are scattered upon the mountains (39.2–5, 17–20).
5. The bones of the slain are exposed upon the surface of the land (6.5).	5. The bones of the slain are exposed upon the surface of the land (39.15).
6. The people are dispersed among the nations (6.8, 9).	6. The people dispersed among the nations return (38.17; 39.25, 27–28).
7. The people turn from God (6.9).	7. God turned from the people (39.23, 24, 29).
8. The people will be ashamed of their sins (6.9).	8. The people will be ashamed of their sins (39.26).
9. The "fugitives of the sword" are scattered among the nations (6.8).	9. Those "restored from the sword" are regathered to the mountains of Israel (38.8).

[30] Many scholars have noted points of contiguity between 6.1–14 and Ezek 38–39, but no one has assembled the full battery of similarities outlined here. Hölscher noted that Ezek 38–39 borrowed from ch. 6 but did not explain how (*Hesekiel*, 180). Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1*, 185; *Ezekiel 2*, 309), Block (*Ezekiel 1–24*, 221), and Pohlmann (*Hesekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 1–19*, 103, 107) point out the motif of God bringing his sword upon the mountains. Zimmerli (pp. 186–87), Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 139), and Pohlmann (p. 104) note the theme of God scattering the slain upon the mountains. Cooke (*Ezekiel*, 70) very suggestively connects the themes of remembrance and self-loathing in 6.9 with 11.17–19; 16.61, 63; 20.43; 36.31; and 39.26, but he does not detail the relationships between these texts.

EZEKIEL 6.1–14	GO
10. The annihilation of Israel teaches the survivors to "know Yhwh" (6.7, 10, 12, 13).	10. The annihilation of Israel's enemies teaches the nations and people to "know Yhwh" (38.23; 39.6, 7, 22, 28).
11. The destruction of Judah and the exile are due to God smiting his own people (6.1–10).	11. The destruction of Judah and the exile are due to God smiting his own people (39.21).
12. God inflicts the people with the judgments of Lev 26 (6.11–12).	12. God inflicts Gog with the judgments of Lev 26 (38.22).

Virtually all commentators identify some redactional activity in Ezek 6.[31] Nevertheless, the direction of dependence between 6.1–14 and GO is not in question.[32] The author of GO knew Ezek 6.1–14 as a unity. The locutions, images, and themes taken up by GO derive from all redactional strata in 6.1–14 (however defined), with the exception of the scribal glosses from Hos 4.13 and Lev 23.40 in the MT (see translation above, v. 13).[33] As we will see, GO also alluded to 11.17–21, and 11.17–18 presupposes 6.1–14, including vv. 8–9 (the verses most commonly eliminated as a later addition). In addition, the argument of GO is logically dependent upon 6.1–14. The mountains of Israel must become a place of judgment before they can become a place of restoration.[34] Finally, Ezek 36.1–15 constitutes a rever-

[31] No two critics agree on the redactional history of the chapter. The following four examples illustrate the point. Cooke (*Ezekiel*, 67–68) argues that vv. 1–4, 13–14 are original to the prophet. Vv. 5–7 are redundant; vv. 8–10 are addressed to the exiles; and vv. 11–12 "comment on" the original oracle and are "no part of the original address." He makes no attempt to determine the chronology of these additions. Pohlmann (*Hesekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 1–19*, 102–110) identifies two layers of redaction on the original oracle, composed of vv. 1–3, 6, 11a (note: this omits the reason for the judgment). Vv. 11b–13aα and 14b were added in the exile under the influence of H. Vv. 4–5, 7–10, and 13aβ–14a were added in the post-exilic period. Fohrer (*Ezechiel*, 39) identifies 1–5a as the original oracle. Vv. 5b–7 are betrayed as an addition by the shift to addressing humans. He purges vv. 8–10 because they explicitly address exiles and vv. 11–14 because the break the meter of the oracle (?). Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 138) and Block (*Ezekiel 1–24*, 218-19) are unusual in that they acknowledge redaction in the chapter but contend that 6.1–14 are tied together too intricately to unravel.

[32] It has only occasionally been suggested that 6.1–14 was added to the book long after the return from exile. Hölscher, taking his lead from B. Duhm (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 4th ed. [HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922]; *Das Buch Jeremia* [KHC; Tübingen & Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901]), argues that all prose elements in Ezekiel are post-exilic (*Hesekiel*, 66–67). H. Simian-Yofre (*Die theologische Nachgeschichte der Prophetie Ezechiels: Form- und traditionskritische Untersuchungen zu Ez 6; 35; 36* [FB 14; Würzburg: Echter, 1974], 117–26) and J. Garscha (*Studien*, 98–99) eliminate all elements of deliverance from chs. 1–32.

[33] E.g., Herrmann, *Ezechielstudien*, 43; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 96; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 190; Allen, *Ezekiel 1–19*, 85.

[34] Renz, *Rhetorical Function*, 67.

sal of 6.1–14.[35] Inasmuch as 36.1–15 is *explicitly* exilic (36.8) and 6.1–14 must be earlier than it, 6.1–14 is much younger than GO.

Ezekiel 6.1–14 and GO share other lexical parallels in addition to הרי ישראל. In my judgment, however, the allusion to Ezek 6 depends upon the catch-phrase הרי ישראל and upon the similarities between the two texts in plot and imagery. The other parallel locutions (indicated in the translation) serve to *reinforce* the allusion.[36] They heighten the similarity between Ezek 6.1–14 and GO, strengthening the link between the passages. But, they are only striking after the allusion has already been observed.[37] The three most notable of these shared locutions are as follows:

1. עצם, *"bone/bones."* GO contains a detailed interlude on the burial of the slain that has often baffled interpreters. Ezekiel 39.11–16 describes teams of workers seeking the bones of the slain and placing them in graves. It serves, in part, as a reversal of God's announcement that he will scatter the bones of the Judeans upon the mountains of Israel (6.5), reapplying the same judgment to Gog and his allies. Like the Judeans before him, Gog and his allies will be slain, scattered and exposed on the face of the land.[38]
2. חרב/חרבה, *"ruin/to ruin."* The notion that the towns and cities of the land are to be made into ruins is a significant point of continuity between GO and Ezek 6. Following the destruction of Jerusalem, the land's settlements will be "ruins" (6.6 [cf. v. 14]; 33.24, 27; 36.4 [cf. 36.10, 33]).[39] The author of GO depicts the land's towns and cities as still being in ruins at the time of Gog's invasion (38.8, 12). The land is described as "inhabited ruins," חרבות נושבת (38.12), which will only be fully restored after the invasion of Gog (39.5–29).
3. פלטי חרב, *"fugitives of the sword."* This is a rare expression (only Jer 44.28; 51.50; Ezek 6.8) that is always used to refer to fugitives of the destructions of Judah in 586 B.C.E. The inverse of the locution is found

[35] Pohlmann, *Hesekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 1–19*, 104.

[36] There are twenty-eight locutions in 6.1–14 that are also found in GO. This ratio, two parallel locutions per verse, is extremely high. The average in texts manifesting no allusive relationship to the Gog oracles (using 1.1–5.17 and 7.1–11.16 as a sample) is one parallel locution for every 3.16 verses.

[37] On this phenomenon as a tool for confirming a suspected allusion see Ben-Porat, "Poetics of Literary Allusion," 111–16.

[38] So Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 139–40; Pohlmann, *Hesekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 1–19*, 104. In my judgment, both texts, Ezek 6 and GO, are creative developments of the purity regulation in Num 19.16–18. See on pp. 185–88 below

[39] This serves also as a pun: God's sword (חרב, 6.3 [11]) leaves the land in ruins (תחרבנה 6.6). The same pun appears explicitly in 33.27. There the refugees living in ruins (חרבה) will fall by the sword (חרב).

in Ezek 38.8, where the sparse community of returnees is described as משובבת מחרב, "returned from the sword" (cf. Jer 44.14).

In sum, the author of GO appears to have mined Ezek 6 for many of his images, motifs, and plot points. The author of GO reapplied the judgments on Judah from Ezek 6 to Gog and his host, in an act of reversal that inverted the position and power of Israel with that of her foreign oppressors. Most elements in the basic plotline of GO appear in 6.1–14. The only significant elements in the plot of GO that are not anticipated by Ezek 6 are the identification and description of Gog's allies (38.3–9), God's cosmic actions against Gog (38.18–23), the plundering of the dead (39.9–10), the defilement and cleansing of the land (39.11–16), and the wild animals feasting on the dead (39.17–20). Each of these elements, as we shall see, is borrowed from other scriptural texts. Most of them were originally derived from Ps 79.

C. Psalm 79.1–4: "The Nations Have Come . . ."

Psalm 79.1–4 is the third and final text that the author of GO used as a *Vorbild*. It supplied most of the major plot points and images in GO that do not appear in Ezek 6.

PSALM 79.1–4	GO
O God, the nations have come into your inheritance;	טמא // 39.24 (contrast טהר, 39.12, 14, 16)
they have defiled your holy temple;	+ נתן + לעוף השמים + מאכל
they have laid Jerusalem in ruins.	לעיט צפור כל כנף + אכלה
They have given the bodies of your servants	חית השדה, 39.4 // לחיתו ארץ
to the birds of the air for food,	דם // 38.22; 39.17, 18, 19
the flesh of your faithful to the wild animals	סביבות // 39.17
of the earth.	קבר // 39.11, 12, 13, 14, 15
They have poured out their blood like water	סביבות // 39.17
all around Jerusalem,	
and there was no one to bury them.	
We have become a taunt to our neighbors,	
mocked and derided by those around us.	

Psalm 79.1–4 shares a number of identical locutions with GO. The dependence of GO upon Ps 79.1–4, however, is most observable in their corresponding constellations of images. Both texts display an array of topoi and images that appear as a group nowhere else within the HB: (1) an unprovoked invasion by the "nations," (2) verbal abuse at the hands of neighboring countries, (3) a defiled land, (4) carrion animals feasting on human carcasses (described as "flesh" and "blood"), and (5) uninterred corpses.

The images from Ps 79.1–4 exerted their greatest influence on Ezek 39, where the combined themes of defilement, unburied dead, and wild animals feasting on the dead reappear in close proximity to one another.[40] It is notable that none of the themes shared by Ps 79 and GO appear in Ezek 6. GO is a composite; its plot was crafted, in the main, by combining elements of Ezek 6 and Ps 79. Most every plot point in GO that was not derived directly from Ezek 6 was supplemented from Ps 79. Though there is virtually no overlap in the content of Ezek 6 and Ps 79, the one thing that the two texts share in common is their rhetorical purpose. Ezekiel 6 is an announcement of judgment against the mountains of Israel, judgment which is turned upon Israel's enemies in GO. *Similarly, Ps 79 is a complaint to Yhwh for the horrors inflicted on Jerusalem by the nations, horrors which are returned upon the nations in GO.*[41]

D. Conclusions

In sum, the substance of GO, its topoi, topics, and plot, was derived from Ezek 28.25–26, Ezek 6.1–14, and Ps 79.1–4. To over-generalize, it might be said that Ezek 28.25–26 established the primary subjects of GO: the vindication of Yhwh's name and restoration of his people. Ezekiel 6 and Psalm 79 supplied the major tropes and themes of GO. The author of GO then used these tropes and themes to depict the reversal of Judah's and Israel's ill fortune, inflicted by God (Ezek 6) and the foreign nations (Ps 79). Interestingly, the three texts share little in the way of imagery, or topoi, or subject matter. Their unification is entirely due to the creativity of the author of GO, and the result of this creative unification is the vindication of Israel before her enemies. It should be noted, however, that these three texts do not determine all of GO's contents, nor do they accommodate the totality of its message. For instance, although Ezek 6 inspired many of the individual plot points in GO, these points are often articulated using the language of other legal and prophetic texts. In addition, there is, on occasion, a turn in the plot or a distinguishing image which cannot be located in Ezek 6 or Ezek 28 or Ps 79. To identify these allusions, which

[40] The main feature of Ps 79 that distinguishes it from GO is its Zion theology. The author of GO studiously avoided any hint of a resurgent Zion in his composition. (For more on the rejection of the notion of Zion's inviolability in Ezekiel's vision accounts, see Tooman, "Ezekiel's Challenge," 498–514.)

[41] Despite suggestions that Ps 79 is Maccabean, it appears to be older than GO. Ps 79 is alluded to by Ps 102, Zeph 3.8–10, and 1 Macc 7.17. Zeph 3, at least, is known to the author of GO (see under "38.18–23," pp. 162–69). See the discussion in F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalms 2* (trans. L. M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2005), 303–7.

dot its literary landscape, we must look more closely at the individual pericopae that make up GO, which is the focus of the next chapter.

Excursus B. Ezekiel's Oracles against the Nations and GO

The oracles against the nations (OAN) in Ezek 25–32 are addressed to seven countries, the immediate neighbors of Israel: Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia, Tyre, Sidon, and Egypt.[42] Many of the Ezekielian locutions that are recycled by GO are taken from the OAN. This is not surprising considering the corresponding subject matter of the two.[43] Anja Klein has recently suggested that Ezekiel's OAN – together with Jeremiah's oracles against the foe from the north – supplied the foundational source materials and inspiration for GO.[44] She observes the following linguistic parallels between the OAN and GO: בן אדם שים פניך על/אל (25.2; 28.21; 29.2 // 38.2; 39.1); נבא, impv. (25.2; 28.1; 29.2; 30.2 // 38.2; 39.1); הנני אל/על (26.3; 28.22; 29.3, 8, 10; 30.22 // 38.3; 39.1); על פני השדה + נפל (29.5 // 39.5); ונתתי חחים בלחייך (29.4 // 38.4); נתן לאכלה (29.5 // 39.4); הארץ ולעוף השמים and בזז (29.19 // 38.12; 39.10); קהל (23.24; 26.7; 27.27, 34; 32.22, 23 // 38.4, 13); and the names of Gog's allies. This is a significant list. Still, I do not consider the OAN to be anything more for the author of GO than a quarry for Ezekielian locu-

[42] Much effort has been exerted to correlate these prophecies to the known facts of the 6th century B.C.E. E.g., R. D. Barnett, "Ezekiel and Tyre," *EI* 9 (1969): 6–13; J. R. Bartlett, "Edom and the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 BC," *PEQ* 114 (1982): 13–24; *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTSup 77; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); I. M. Diakonoff, "The Naval Power and Trade of Tyre," *IEJ* 42 (1992): 168–93; Bert Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist: The Role of Edom in Biblical Prophecy and Story* (JSOTSup 169; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994); M. Elat, "Tarshish and the Problem of Phoenician Colonization in the Western Mediterranean," *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 13 (1982): 55–61; "The Iron Export from Uzal (Ezekiel xxvii 19)," *VT* 33 (1983): 323–26; A. R. W. Green, "The Identity of King So of Egypt – An Alternative Interpretation," *JNES* 52 (1993): 99–108; J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem: Schoken Institute, 1973); M. Liverani, "The Trade Network of Tyre According to Ezek 27," *ScrHier* 33 (1991): 54–79; O. Loretz, "Der Sturz des Fürsten von Tyrus (Ez 28, 1–19)," *UF* 8 (1976): 455–58; A. R. Millard, "Ezekiel xxvii 19: The Wine Trade of Damascus," *JSS* 7 (1962): 201–3; Markus Saur, *Der Tyroszyklus des Ezechielbuches* (BZAW 386; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).

[43] Some scholars have concluded that the connections between Ezekiel's OAN and GO are evidence, not of borrowing, but of a systematic redaction of the book (e.g., M. Nobile, "Beziehung zwischen Ez 32, 17–32 und der Gog-Perikope (Ez 38–39) im Lichte der Endredaktion," in *Ezekiel and His Book* [ed. J. Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press], 255–59; Fitzpatrick, *Disarmament*, 81). The evidence seems too slight to support so broad a conclusion.

[44] *Schriftauslegung*, 127–32 (cf. Fitzpatrick, *Disarmament*, 80–81; Lawrence Boadt, *Ezekiel's Oracles Against Egypt* [BiOr 37; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1980], 177; Hossfeldt, *Untersuchungen*, 494–501).

tions. Apart from the locutions borrowed from 29.4–5 and the list of allied nations (discussed in the next chapter), all of these parallels – most of which are formulaic language – can also be found outside of the OAN. Furthermore, there is no interpretation, reapplication, or updating of Ezekiel's OAN in GO. The author merely borrows select locutions and images from Ezek 25–32. In my judgment, the author of GO drew upon OAN language in an effort to mirror Ezekiel's idiolect and to create cohesion between his new composition and the wider book of Ezekiel, nothing more. For these reasons, I do not consider Ezekiel's OAN, or any part of them, to be *Vorbilder* of GO.

It has also been suggested by certain interpreters that GO should be classified as an OAN, perhaps even a coded indictment of Babylon.[45] This conclusion is typically based on two assumptions. First, it begins with the recognition that GO does not conform perfectly to the genre profile of apocalyptic. It then assumes some correspondence between eschatology and apocalyptic. It concludes that if GO is not apocalyptic, it is not eschatological. The second assumption is that prophets speak (and thus prophetic literature speaks) to the concerns of their own age. GO then must be addressed to a historical enemy of Judah, known to Ezekiel and his auditors. These assumptions have long been laid to rest in biblical scholarship.[46] I am in agreement with Klein that GO should not be classified as an OAN. She notes that almost none of the nations mentioned in GO represent historical states, and she makes the perceptive observation that the fate of Gog is linked with the fate of Israel in a manner unknown in the OAN.[47] To this I would add that GO's similarities to the *Gattung* OAN are due to its character as pastiche. As I observe in chapter 6, GO's genre is, to some degree, derivative. In as much as the author of GO derived most of his locutions, topoi, images, plot-points, and arguments from other texts, GO is not a *pure* representation of any genre, prophetic or apocalyptic.

[45] Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 4:192–93; J. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 2d ed. (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1926), 257–58; Margaret S. Odell, "Are You He of Whom I Spoke by My Servants the Prophets?: Ezekiel 38–39 and the Problem of History in the Neobabylonian Context" (Ph.D. Diss.; University of Pittsburgh, 1988).

[46] See discussion and notes in Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 128–132.

[47] Ibid., 129.

Chapter 5

Examining the Reuse: The Individual Pericopae

I now turn to the individual pericopae that make up GO. Each pericope will be examined in detail: 38.1–6, 38.7–16, 38.18–23, 39.1–8, 39.9–16, 39.17–20, and 39.21–29. The discussion of each pericope will follow a given pattern: delimitation of the text segment, translation, brief summary of the pericope, examination of scriptural reuse within each pericope, and a brief summary of results.

The translations include philological and text-critical notes. *Italics* are used to mark any lemma that is noticeably different in the manuscripts or versions. The sigla {+} indicates a plus in one or more of the manuscripts or versions vis-á-vis MT, and {*italics*} indicates a plus in the MT. Special attention is given to the most significant pre-Hexaplaric Greek manuscripts: LXX^{B} and Pap^{967}. Select variants from the Peshitta, Targumim, Old Latin, and other witnesses from the Greek manuscript tradition are also noted.[1] When I cite LXX without modifier, it indicates Ziegler's eclectic text.

A. The Structure of the Gog Oracles

In terms of structure, GO is divided into two panels by the following introductions (parallels between the two are underlined in translation):

(1) The word of Yhwh came to me saying, (2) "Son of man, set your face against Gog of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshek and Tubal, and prophesy against him, (3) and say, 'Thus says the Lord Yhwh, "Behold, I am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshek and Tuval, (4) and I will turn you around, and I will put hooks into your jaw . . ." (38.1–4a)

(1) And you son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say, "Thus says the Lord Yhwh, 'Behold, I am against you O Gog, chief prince of Meshek and Tubal, (2) and I will turn you around; I will lead you on, and will cause you to come up from the remote reaches of the north . . .'" (39.1–2a)

[1] For an exhaustive comparison of the LXX and the MT of Ezek 38–39, see A. Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 141–210.

Each introduction is a potpourri of stereotypical Ezekielian formulae: שים פניך, הנבא על לאמר, הנבא + ואמר, כה אמר אדני יהוה, ויהי דבר יהוה אתי, בן אדם, and על/אל, הנני אל יך. No other oracle in Ezekiel is introduced by so many formulae.

Each of the panels is a proof saying, divided into two parts: judgment (38.1–13; 39.1–24) and consequence (38.14–23; 39.25–29). As a proof saying, both panels include the recognition formula, וידעו כי אני יהוה (אלהים) (38.23; 39.6, 7, 22, 28), and the consequence portion of each is initiated by לכן, "therefore."[2] In 38.1–13 there are two oracles, which describe the invaders (vv. 3–9) and the invasion (vv. 10–13). Verses 14–23, the consequence, explain God's motives in the invasion and his methods for destroying Gog. Ezekiel 39.1–24 also consists of two oracles, describing the destruction of Gog and his allies (vv. 3–16) and the cleanup after the battle (vv. 17–24). Verses 25–29, the second section of consequence, describe Israel's response to the battle and the final restoration. From this, the following outline emerges:

I. Proof saying (38.1–23)	II. Proof saying (39.1–29)
A. Judgment (38.1–13)	A. Judgment (39.1–24)
1. כה אמר אדני יהוה (38.3–9)	1. כה אמר אדני יהוה (39: 1–16)
2. כה אמר אדני יהוה (38.10–13)	2. כה אמר אדני יהוה (39.17–24)
B. Consequence, לכן (38.14–23)	B. Consequence, לכן (39.25–29)
1. כה אמר אדני יהוה (38.14–16)	כה אמר אדני יהוה
2. כה אמר אדני יהוה (38.17–23)	

In keeping with Ezekiel's typical practice, the beginning of an oracle is marked with a formula, but the end may or may not be marked. In chapter 38, only the last oracle has a concluding formula, which rounds off the entire chapter, the recognition formula: וידעו כי אני יהוה (38.23). Likewise, chapter 39 is closed off by the signatory formula, נאם אדני יהוה (39.29).

The structure of chapter 38, as indicated in the outline above, is complete. The individual oracles are not subdivided any further. The judgment portion of chapter 39 (vv. 1–24), however, is subdivided still further by other prophetic formulae. In most cases, the smallest sections of an oracle are marked at the end of the unit, rather than the beginning, as the following figure shows:

A. Judgment (39.1–24)
1. 39.1–16 – opened by: כה אמר אדני יהוה
a. 39.1–10
i. 39.1–5 – closed by: כי אני דברתי + נאם אדני יהוה

[2] לכן is used to subdivide oracles in 5.7–8; 11.7; 13.13, 20; etc. See W. Zimmerli, "The Word of Divine Self-manifestation (Proof-Saying): A Prophetic Genre," chapter in *I Am Yahweh* (ed. Walter Brueggemann; trans. Douglas W. Scott; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982).

ii. 39.6 – closed by: וידעו כי אני יהוה
iii. 39.7–8 – closed by: נאם אדני יהוה + הוא היום אשר דברתי
iv. 39.9–10 – closed by: נאם אדני יהוה
b. 39.11–16 – opened by: והיה ביום ההוא
i. 39.11–13 – closed by: נאם אדני יהוה
ii. 39.14–16 – unmarked
2. 39.17–24 – opened by: ואתה בן אדם + כה אמר אדני יהוה
a. 39.17–20 – closed by: נאם אדני יהוה
b. 39.21–24 – unmarked

Each of these small subdivisions represents a new topic in the judgment, which explains why they have been so carefully distinguished from one another.

The Masoretes took their cues from Ezekiel's formulae when they divided GO into open and closed paragraphs. They divided the text in the following way:

38.1–9 – open paragraph (ס)
38.10–13 – open paragraph (ס)
38.14–16 – open paragraph (ס)
38.17 – open paragraph (ס)
38.18–23 – open paragraph (ס)

39.1–10 – open paragraph (ס)
39.11–16 – open paragraph (ס)
39.17–24 – open paragraph (ס)
39.25–29 – closed paragraph (פ)

The Masoretic system, because it has only two degrees of division, did not enable scribes to indicate a complex hierarchy of divisions. The *petuḥah* at the end of chapter 39, indicates that in the Tiberian tradition GO was taken as a unified whole. The *setumôt* divide the oracle into parts, but do not distinguish major divisions from minor ones. Nonetheless, the Masoretic divisions correspond with Ezekiel's formulae to a remarkable degree. The only difference is 38.17. The Masoretes, recognizing the verse as a parenthetical comment, set it apart, bracketing it with paragraph markers.

In the principal Greek manuscripts, there is greater variety in the perceived structure of the oracles. Still, there is basic agreement on the larger textual units.[3]

Papyrus^{967}	LXX^{B}	LXX^{A}
– 38.1–16	– 38.1–9	– 38.1–2
– 38.17–23	– 38.10–13	– 38.3–9
	– 38.14–17	– 38.10–13
	– 38.18–23	– 38.14a
		– 38.14b–16

[3] See A. Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 140–41, 171–72.

Papyrus[967]	LXX[B]	LXX[A]
		– 38.17–21a – 38.21b–23
– 39.1–16 – 39.17–29	– 39.1–10 – 39.11–16 – 39.17–24 – 39.25–29	– 39.1–8 – 39.9–10 – 39.11–16 – 39.17–24 – 39.25–29
Pap[967] typically divides units with two "strokes" between words, rather than spaces	LXX[B] typically divides units by small spaces (2–3 letters in size) or *paragraphoi.*	LXX[A] typically divides units by small spaces (1–3 letters in size) or *paragraphoi.*

Between MT, Pap[967], LXX[A], and LXX[B] of chapter 38 there is general agreement that there should be a break after vv. 9, 13, and 23. There is wide divergence on where to place the editorial comment 38.17, but all the witnesses place a division before or after v. 17. (Only MT places division before and after v. 17.) In chapter 39, there is stronger agreement. All the witnesses divide between vv. 1–16 and 17–29. Beyond that, they only disagree on how many subdivisions they make, but not on where sub-units end.

B. Scriptural Reuse in the Individual Pericopae

I. Ezekiel 38.1–6: "I Am Against You, O Gog . . ."

Chapter 38, as indicated by its transitional formulae and confirmed by the manuscript evidence, is divided into four oracles: 38.3–9, 10–13, 14–16, 18–23. Verses 1–2 are a formulaic introduction, and v. 17 is a rhetorical question addressed to Gog, which stands between two oracles. For the purposes of this discussion, I will be ignoring this structure. I will focus, instead, on units that I have delimited by the scriptural texts at work in them, rather than the formal structure of the oracles. I begin with 38.1–6, in which the author introduces the principal characters.

(1) And the word of Yhwh came to me, saying,[4] (2) "Son of man, set your face against *Gog*[5] *of the land of Magog*,[6] the chief prince[7] of Meshek and Tubal, and prophesy against

[4] The Peshitta adds a contextualizing superscription: "against those of the house of Gog and Magog who came up against those who returned from Babylon." This plus eliminates the possibility, within the Syriac reading tradition, that anything other than the return from Babylonian exile in the Persian period is in view in GO.

[5] Pap[967] reads Ωγ at this point. It is merely a confusion of final *iota* (from preceding ἐπὶ) and initial *gamma* as indicated by the fact that Pap[967] uses Γωγ from this point on

him, (3) and say {+},[8] 'Thus says the Lord Yahweh, "Behold, I am against you, {*O Gog*},[9] the chief prince of Meshek and Tubal. (4) I will turn you around,[10] {*and I will put hooks into your jaw*[11]}, and I will bring you and all your army forth, horses and horsemen, all of them *perfectly clothed*[12] – a great company – mantlets *and shields*,[13] {*all of*

(Johnson et al., *Scheide Biblical Papyri*, 128; Crane, *Israel's Restoration*, 143). LXX^{B,A} both have Γωγ.

[6] Some commentators eliminate ארץ המגוג as a gloss because it separates the name Gog from the title appended to it (Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 199; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 409; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 518; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 283). It should be noted, however, that it is present in MasEzek and in all the versions (excepting LXX^{62}). More significant is the plus in LXX, καί, which treats Gog and Magog as separate people groups. This difference appears to be a secondary harmonization, coordinating GO with Gen 10.2 where Magog appears in the Table of Nations as a descendent of Japheth.

[7] LXX, Symmachus, and Theodotion all read ראש as a proper name Ρως. Peshitta, Targum, Aquila, and Vulgate all take ראש as "chief/head." The commentaries show a great muddle of opinions regarding this variant (Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 197; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 434; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 409; Duguid, 18–25 [1994], 20; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 284). Crane sensibly concludes that "LXX interpreted [ראש] as another ethnic group against them, just as it did with 'Magog'" (*Restoration*, 145). It is also worth noting that the combination ראש + נשיא is known in the HB, appearing in Num 10.4 and 36.1, though the two terms are appositional. In 2 Kgs 25.18 and Ezra 7.5, ראש is used adjectivally in the title "chief priest," כהן הראש.

[8] LXX^{B} translates ואמרת with "and say to him" (+ αὐτῷ).

[9] The vocative גוג is absent in LXX^{B} and Pap^{967}. It is present in LXX^{A}, which suggests that it is an expansion in MT. Without it, נשיא ראש must be taken as a title here.

[10] ושובבתיך is a *polal* perfect verb (the *polal* is used in place of the *piel* with this root). It also occurs in Ezek 38.4; 39.2, 27; Isa 47.10;49.5; 58.12; Jer 8.5; 50.19; Pss 23.3; 38.8; 60.3. In the *polal*, it means "bring back," "lead back," "turn around," "lead away/astray," or (figuratively) "restore." LXX^{B} reads "I will gather you" (και συνάξω σε; also in 39.2), but שובבי in 39.27 is rendered by ἀποστρέψαι ἀποστρέψαι, "to turn back." Both are within the semantic range of the word. The Targum, by extension, reads "I will persuade you" (ואשדל ינך). Contextually, "turn around" or "lead around" make the most sense of the image; i.e., God is forcing Gog in a certain direction.

[11] The clause ונתתי חחים בלחייך is absent in LXX^{B,A} and Pap^{967}, but it does appear in MasEzek and Theodotion. It appears to have been omitted in the LXX tradition by haplography (ך > ך).

[12] LXX reads ἐνδεδυμένους θώπακας πάντας, "all dressed in breastplates." The translator, sensitive to the fact that the locution לבשי מכלול makes little sense in the context, interpreted it in proper warlike fashion. The locution לבשי מכלול, however, was borrowed from 23.6, 12 (23) and cannot be altered without destroying the allusion.

[13] LXX reads πέλται καὶ περικεφαλαῖαι, "shield and helmet," taking צנה ומגן as a redundancy. The Greek translator chose to coordinate the verse with 23.24 and 27.10. The Hebrew is not, in fact redundant. A צנה is a "large shield covering the whole body, standing shield," a "mantlet" in medieval nomenclature, whereas מגן is a normal shield (*HALOT* 3: 1037; see Roland de Vaux *Ancient Israel: Religious Institutions* [Darton: Longman and Todd, 1961], 1:238, 244–45).

them grasping[14]} swords. (5) Persia, Cush and Put are with them. All of them have shield and helmet. (6) Gomer and *all his hordes*,[15] the house of Togarmah (the remote parts of the north) and all his hordes. Many people are with you.

Ezekiel 38.1–6 serves two purposes within the oracle complex. First, it represents a divine statement of intent. One day, Yhwh will impel Gog to assemble his host and invade Israel. God's motive for this are not revealed. They will be made plain at a later point in GO. Second, it introduces and describes the characters in the oracle: Yhwh, Gog, and Gog's confederates. Yhwh and Gog are the main characters. Though they are given a physical description in v. 4, the allies of Gog are not true characters. They are an extension of Gog himself, never acting on their own initiative but miming his behavior. The Israelites, who have returned to the land, will not be introduced until v. 8. They are minor characters throughout GO. They have no role in the drama apart from cleaning up the battlefield after the action has been concluded. As such they are not even mentioned in the opening pericope. None of these characters are constructs of the author's creativity. Gog and his confederates, with only one exception, are derived from texts in the Torah.

1. "Gog" and "Magog"

There has been an extensive debate about the origins of the character "Gog." Some have tried to identify a historical or mythical referent for the character, but no consensus has emerged on this point.[16] There are three major problems with these efforts. First, there simply is not enough information in Ezek 38–39 to identify Gog. We know nothing about Gog except that he lives far from Israel and exercises hegemony over many foreign lands. Second, many of these suggestions assume that the oracle addresses a contemporary threat in the author's world. Third, the tradition of an eschatological invader from the north is well known from Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Joel. It seems more likely that the main character would also be derived from the HB. In my judgment, Gog is not a historical entity. He is a

[14] LXX^{B} abbreviates "mantlets and shields, *all of them grasping* swords" to "shields and helmets and swords" (πέλται καὶ περικεφαλαῖαι καὶ μάχαιραι).

[15] LXX renders ואת כל אגפיו with καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτόν, "and all those around him," clarifying an obscure term (**אגף**).

[16] Suggestions include, but are not limited to: Babylon, the Scythians, Alexander the Great, Gyges of Lydia, Alyattes of Lydia, the *Gagaia* (northern barbarians dimly related to the ancient Urartians), prince *Gâgu* (a petty northern king tributary to Assyria), Cimmerians, Russia, *gug* personified (Sumerian "darkness"), *Gaga* (Babylonian deity), the scorpion-man from the Gilgamesh epic, and Naram-sin (a Cuthean hero). See the lengthy, entertaining discussion in Odell, "Are You He," 1–42.

composite, a character designed by assimilating information from several texts about a mysterious eschatological enemy of Israel.

The actual name גוג, "Gog," appears numerous times in the MT and the versions, though it is represented most widely in the LXX. It appears in Num 24.7 (LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, Theodotian, and Old Latin), 1 Chr 5.4 (MT and LXX), in Deut 3.1, 13, and 4.47 (LXX^B), in Esth 3.1 and 9.24 (LXX^{93}), in Sir 48.17 (LXX^B), and in Amos 7.1 (LXX). The appearance of Gog son of Shemaiah in 1 Chr 5.4 is, by all accounts, a coincidence, bearing no relation to the character in GO. The "Gog" of 1 Chr 5.4 is an Israelite from the tribe of Reuben, not a Gentile invader. (LXX spells the name Γούγ, not Γώγ, to distinguish the two.[17]) Apart from Num 24.7 and Amos 7.1, all the other references to Gog are errors or secondary adjustments. The appearances of "Gog" in LXX^B of Deuteronomy appear to be errors or scribal variants. In Deut 3.1, 13 and 4.47, Ωγ is rendered Γώγ only in LXX^B. Thus, in LXX^B, Γωγ is the king of a land conquered by Manasseh in the days of Moses. In all three places, this was corrected by a later hand to Ωγ.[18] In LXX^{93} of Esther, Haman the Agagite is rendered Haman the "Gogite" on two occasions (γωγαῖον, 3.1; γωγαῖος, 9.24).[19] This is a late secondary adjustment (13th c.), which serves to heighten the qualities of menace and evil in the character of Haman. Finally, LXX^B contains another (baffling) reference to Gog in Sir 48.17. Sirach 48.17 refers to Γώγ (not "water," ὕδως) entering Jerusalem through Hezekiah's tunnel (cf. 2 Kgs 20.20; 2 Chr 32.30). Abraham Geiger, followed by Jennifer Dines, suggested an original ἀγωγόν, "path/water-course," to resolve this impossible text. This suggestion is not a fabrication; ἀγωγόν is, in fact, attested in Codex Siniaticus of Sir 48.17.[20] In other words, only Num 24.7 and Amos 7.1 are possible sources of the name "Gog" for the author of GO.

There are several good reasons to identify Num 24.7 as the original source for the character in GO (see excursus below regarding Amos 7.1). In Num 23–24 Balaam anticipates a "star" who will rise out of Jacob. This star, who is a king, is predicted to be higher "than Agag" (מֵאֲגַג) in the MT

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[17] See the discussion in Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 134; Bøe, *Gog of Magog*, 49–50.

[18] See the bibliography and discussion in Bøe, *Gog of Magog*, 50–75.

[19] See Robert Hanhart, *Esther* (*Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum*, vol. VIII, 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 148; Paton, *Esther*, 69, 194.

[20] A. Geiger, "Warum gehört das Buch Sirach zu den Apokryphen?" *ZDMG* 12 (1858): 536–43; Jennifer Dines, "The Septuagint of Amos: A Study in Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1992), 217. See also, Peter Höffken, "Jesus Sirachs Darstellung der Interaktion des Königs Hiskija und des Propheten Jesaja (Sir 48:17–25)," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 162–75.

of Num 24.7. A wide variety of witnesses, however, including Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint, Theodotian, and Vetus Latina, have Balaam predicting that the coming king will be higher "than Gog" (מגוג).[21]

MT	וְיָרֹם מֵאֲגַג מַלְכּוֹ וְתִנָּשֵׂא מַלְכֻתוֹ
SamP[22]	וירם מגוג מלכו ותנשא מלכותו
LXX	ὑψωθήσεται ἢ Γωγ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐξηθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ
θ′	ἐξελεύσεται ὑπὲρ Γὼγ βασιλεῦς αὐτοῦ[23]
OL	Et exaltabitur tanquam Gog regnum eius et augebit regnum ipsius[24]

In addition to sharing the name "Gog," Num 24 and GO have a common circumstance and time in view. Numbers 24 claims that the royal "star" will be "higher than Gog" and "rule over many nations." GO lacks any monarchic or messianic overtones, but it is concordant in terms of Israel's foe, Gog and the nations. The two texts also have a common temporal reference. According to Num 23.14, Balaam's Oracles are about "the latter years," אחרית הימים. Regardless of how one chooses to translate אחרית הימים,[25] the author of GO used the phrase to refer to a new historical age, an age predicted by Israel's prophets (38.17) and inaugurated by Gog's invasion (38.8, 16). In crafting his picture of "the latter days," the author's attention was drawn, understandably, to texts that he understood to be about the same time and events, including the Balaam oracles. The weight of the text-critical evidence and the correspondences between Num 24 and

[21] Though damaged at precisely this point, it has been posited that 4QNum[b] read "Gog" as well, based upon the size and spacing of the Hebrew characters (see Nathan Jastram, "The Book of Numbers from Qumran, Cave VI (4QNum[b])" [Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1990] 45; E. C. Ulrich and F. M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* [DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994] 235–36).

[22] For citations, see August von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1918), 327; John W. Wevers, *Numeri* (*Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, vol. III, 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 289; H. Rouillard, *La pericope de Balaam* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1985), 370; Angelo Vivian, "Gog e Magog nella Tradizione Biblica, Ebraica e Cristiana," *Rivista Biblica* 25 (1977): 395.

[23] The evidence regarding Aquila and Symmachus is mixed. According to Wevers, the Latin of Aquila and Symmachus read "Agag," but he then cites five Greek mss that read "Gog" (M', 85, 321, 344, 346) in addition to Syro-Hexapla (*Numeri*, 289). See also Wevers's opaque comments in *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (SCS 46; Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 405–6.

[24] The Fragment Targum and Neofiti preserve both readings, "Agag" and "Gog," side-by-side.

[25] On the proper translation of this phrase see pp. 94–97.

GO strongly suggest that the author of GO derived his villain from the Balaam Oracles.[26]

Some scholars have tried to explain away the reference to Gog in Num 24.7. In most cases, they assume that Num 24 must be a prediction of the coming Davidic monarchy.[27] In some cases, it is claimed that the LXX translators "introduced" Gog into the poem, rendering the original oracles eschatological.[28] M. Dijkstra suggested that the oracle was originally monarchic in character but the persona of Agag gradually evolved into an apocalyptic foe in Israelite tradition (by way of Esth 3.1, 10), as was subsequently indicated in the versions.[29] The main problem with the reading "Agag" is that it does not suit the circumstances portrayed in the oracles. As Bøe rightly observed, inasmuch as the coming king is said to "devour" and rule over "many nations,"[30] the oracles do not correspond with any preexilic hope or reality regarding the monarchy. Of the two readings, only Gog makes sense in the context. Bøe then notes that the king in Num 24 is depicted as a contemporary of the Gog character, excluding any known Israelite or Judean monarch from view.[31] The Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch, Theodotian, and Old Latin reveal an ancient understanding of the Balaam Oracles in which a foe name Gog is defeated by the king of Israel

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[26] So Gillis Gerleman, "Hesekielbokens Gog," *SEÅ* 12 (1947): 161; George Buchanan Gray, *Numbers* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1903), 366; Ernst Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus, Drei Studien* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1912), 154. Interestingly enough, Ezek 38.17 is clear that Gog was predicted by "my servants the prophets of *Israel*" (עבדי נביאי ישראל). This suggests an interpretive tradition in which other prophetic texts (not just Num 23–24) are read as predictions of the coming of Gog. (Note that no other reference within the HB to "my servants the prophets" includes this qualification.)

[27] E.g., Martin Noth, *Numbers: A Commentary* (trans. James Martin; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 191; Arne Munk, "Gengangeren Gog," in *Tro og historie. FS N. Hyldahl* (FBE 7; Copenhagen: Museum Tusc., 1996), 166 (cited in Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, 55).

[28] F. F. Bruce, "The Earliest Old Testament Interpretation," *OS* 17 (1972): 40; John Wevers, *Numbers*, 405–6.

[29] "The Geography of the Story of Balaam: Synchronic Reading as a Help to Date a Biblical Text," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis* (ed. Johannes de Moor; Leiden and New York: 1995), 92; similarly, W. Edward Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos* (VTSup 126; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 204–6.

[30] Including the Moabites, Shethites, Ir, Amalek, the Kenites, Canaanites, Assyrians, Eber, and the Kittim (Num 24.17–24).

[31] Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, 57; Lust attempts to resolve the problem by eliminating both known readings. He offers a hypothetical original מהגג, "on high," in their place. See "The Greek Version of Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles. The ἄνθρωπος in Num 24,7 and 17. Messianism and Lexicography," in *VII Congress of the International Orgnization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. Leonard Greenspoon and O. Munnich; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 235.

in the אחרית הימים. The author of GO gave his adversary the same name and situated his defeat in the same indeterminate future time period.

Excursus C: Gog the Locust King in LXX-Amos 7.1

In LXX-Amos 7.1 Yhwh shows the prophet a locust swarm led by a certain "Gog," the locust-king. Compare MT with LXX:

MT

כה הראני אדני יהוה	This is what the Lord Yhwh made me see:
והנה יוצר גבי	Behold, he was fashioning locusts
בתחלת עלות הלקש	at the beginning of [the time of] late growth
והנה לקש	Behold, it was the late growth
אחר גזי המלך	after the king's mowings.

LXX

οὕτως ἔδειξέν μοι κύριος	This is what the Lord showed me:
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπιγονὴ ἀκρίδων	And behold, offspring of locusts
ἐπχομενὴ ἑωθινή	was coming in the morning,
καὶ ἰδοὺ βρουχος εις Γωγ ὁ βασιλευς	And behold, one locust was Gog the king.

The MT is difficult. Most textual critics accept that MT's לקש, "late growth," is an error for ילק, "locust."[33] This judgment is due, in part, to the evidence from LXX and, in part, to the appearance of ילק in Joel 1.4, 2.25, the other prominent prophetic text about locusts. Further, MT's גזי is unknown apart from a rare absolute form. Aquila does not know what to make of it,[34] but it is usually taken to be a plural construct from גז (גזז), "mowing" (Ps 72.6) or "shearing" (Deut 18.4; Job 31.20). Despite these difficulties with the text of MT, most commentators dismiss the Greek evidence out of hand, treating it as a free revision of an original consonantal text similar or identical to the MT. Note Andersen and Freedman's comments: "The LXX reading is wide off the mark and points to a *Vorlage* al-

[32] Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim Prophetae* (*Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Societatis Litterarum editum*, vol. XIII; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 197. LXX and Old Latin attestation is nearly uniform on this reading. Only LXX[147] lacks Γωγ (ibid.). It is, however, lacking in the Three: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (see Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 3: *Ézechiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes* [OBO 50/3; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1992], 674; Dines, "Amos," 214; Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, 61–63).

[33] The noun לֶקֶשׁ is very rare, occurring only in this verse. For ילק, see Dines, "Amos," 213; Jan de Waard, "Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Amos," *Bib* 59 (1978): 339–50; Anthony Gelston, "Some Hebrew Misreading in the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 52/4 (2002): 498; Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 91–92, 202–3.

[34] Aquila, uncertain what גזי might be, transliterates with γάζης (Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle*, 674).

ready corrupt, or else to great freedom in interpreting an obscure text allegorically and apocalyptically."[35]

Retroverting the LXX, at this point, is very instructive:

כה הראני אדני יהוה	This is what the Lord Yhwh showed me:
והנה יצר גבי	And behold, an appearance of locusts
בתחלת עלות	(was coming) in the morning,
והנה ילק אחד גוג המלך[36]	And behold, one locust was Gog the king

In this retroversion, I posit three differences from the consonantal text reflected in MT:

1. ילק, "locust," for MT's לקש, "late growth"
2. אחד, "one," for MT's אחר, "after"
3. גוג , "Gog," for MT's גזי, "mowing (?)" (possibly גג for גז)

In this reconstruction, I also conjecture that the translator read יצר (spelled defectively) as the noun יֵצֶר "form, frame, appearance,"[37] and construed בתחלת עלות as "at the beginning [of the day/sun] going up."[38] Finally, the first occurrence of לקש, in MT, was added from the fourth line (והנה לקש) to specify the time in view.[39]

The difficulty of the MT, when contrasted with the clarity and fluidity of LXX, suggests that the LXX represents a clarification of this difficult text. But, in light of the retroversion, it is impossible to characterize it as a "free" translation.[40] The differences between LXX and MT are restricted,

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[35] Francis I. Andersen and David N. Freedman, *Amos* (AB 24a; New York: Doubleday, 1989), 741. See also William Rainey Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910), 160; F. F. Bruce, "Prophetic Interpretation in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 12 (1979): 18–21. All these interpreters habitually prioritize the MT.

[36] See Dines, "Amos," 214; cf. Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. George Ernest Wright; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), 137.

[37] So *HALOT*, 429; Dines, "Amos," 213; Aaron Park, *The Book of Amos as Composed and Read in Antiquity* (StBL 37; New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 159; Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 202–3.

[38] So too Dines, "Amos," 213.

[39] So, Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 92. Note also that ילק is a collective, hence the apparent lack of concord (e.g., Joel 1.4, 2.25; Nah 3.16).

[40] It is not always obvious what, exactly, authors mean when they claim that the translation is "free." For Park, LXX-Amos is "a dynamic equivalent rendering of the text, and in some sense a whole new composition in itself" (Park, *The Book of Amos*, 169). For Gelston, LXX-Amos is replete with "misreadings" of its *Vorlage* (Gelston, "Misreading in the Septuagint of Amos," 493–500). For Glenny, it is sometimes "imprecise" and other times the translator "manipulates" letters for interpretive purposes (W. Edward Glenny, "Hebrew Misreadings or Free Translation in the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 57/4 [2007]: 524–47). Of these options, in this case, I agree with Glenny's characterization that the

in every instance, to a single letter. This disciplined consistency can hardly be accidental. Rather, it reflects an exegetical technique whereby a different reading of the text is secured by means of slight changes to individual letters or the order of letters.[41] In post-biblical Jewish interpretation, these types of graphic adjustments were particularly common with the *ʾal tiqrēʾ* formula.[42] Edward Glenny has given ample evidence of the variety of unanticipated ways that the LXX translator dealt with "visually ambiguous phenomena" in his *Vorlage*, which suggests that the translator is not working with an oral reading tradition. He gives many further examples of what he calls "contextual manipulation," cases in which the translator would "knowingly manipulate the Hebrew consonants to create [new] words."[43]

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translator was quite willing to interpret the *Vorlage* by making small alternations in its consonants, but I would not label such a move as "free" translation. Speaking of the character of LXX-Amos in general, it corresponds closely to the word order of the MT. It does show some freedom in terms of representational quantity, in that the translator is willing to use two or more Greek elements (morphemes, words, etc.) to represent a single Hebrew element, if that serves to enhance clarity. See Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 267–73; Jan de Waard, "Translation Techniques," 339–50.

[41] Glenny draws a similar conclusion, but make no effort to discern how or why the translator arrived at this interpretation (*Finding Meaning*, 93). It is often impossible to determine whether these changes are intentional exegetical moves or reflect existing textual variants. For examples in the texts and versions, see Philip Alexander, "Why No Textual Criticism in Rabbinic Midrash? Reflections on the Textual Culture of the Rabbis," in *Jewish Ways of Reading the Bible* (ed. George Brooke; JSSSup 11; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 175–90; George Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 29–36, 281, 284, 288–89; "The Biblical Text in the Qumran Commentaries: Scribal Errors or Exegetical Variants?," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (ed. C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 95–97; E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2d ed. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 172–80; Jan de Waard, "Metathesis as a Translation Technique?", in *Traducere Navem: Festschrift für Katharina Reiß zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Justa Holz-Mänttäri and Christiane Nord; Tampere: University of Tampere Press, 1993), 249–60.

[42] See *b. Yoma* 48a; 75b; *y. Sukkah* 18b; Wilhelm Bacher, *Die Exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, vol. 1: *Die Bibelexegetische Terminologie der Tannaiten*; vol. 2: *Die Bibel- und Traditionsexegetische Terminologie der Amoräer* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899, 1905), 1:174–77, 2:194–95; Alexander Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 378; Liebermann, *Hellenism*, 47–82.

[43] Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 85–95, 109–47. Regarding "contextual manipulation," Glenny assumes, in every case, that they are due to problems and errors in the *Vorlage* or some failure by the translator to understand his *Vorlage*. He never suggests that differences are due to actual differences (variants) between MT and the LXX *Vorlage*. Though I am inclined to agree with him in this particular, he cites numerous examples that are, to my eye, true variants.

This suggests, in this case, that the interpretation may well have been the creation of the translator himself rather than a reflection of his *Vorlage*.

The MT tradition preserves an oracle about an aborted locust plague (7.1–3). The LXX preserves an oracle about an aborted invasion, depicted as a locust plague, under the leadership of a certain "Gog."[44] It cannot be asserted, without doubt, that the author of GO was (or was not) aware of the reading of Amos 7.1 that is reflected in LXX. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in chapter 3, the author of GO was plainly aware of Joel. It is possible that the author of GO was aware of the reading "Gog" in Amos 7.1, identified as a locust king, and that this drew his attention to Joel, with its locust plagues and invasion from the north. The inverse is also possible. The author of GO may have drawn upon Joel for its foe-from-the-north imagery, which then drew his attention to Amos 7.1 with its corresponding locust imagery and main character "Gog." It is equally possible that the translator of LXX-Amos interpreted a very difficult text about locusts as an eschatological invasion, comparable to that in Joel, and supplied the name of the invader from GO.

The name מגוג, "Magog," appears in Gen 10.2 and 1 Chr 1.5.[45] That GO is dependent upon the Table of Nations in Gen 10 is evident from the number of names that are common to the two texts (Meshek, Tubal, Cush, Put, Gomer, Togarmah, Sheba). Genesis 10 is undoubtedly the source of the name "Magog" in GO. The author of GO, however, rendered "Magog" as a *mem*-preformative noun of location, not a personal name as in Gen 10.[46] The translators of LXX, perhaps recognizing this discrepancy, rendered Γώγ καὶ Μαγωγ, "Gog and Magog" (38.2), making Magog a person once again.[47] Why this particular descendent of Japheth was singled out as the eschatological foe of Israel is never indicated, but it is probably simply due to its similarity to the name גוג,[48] and to the convenient fact that מגוג is unknown as a people group.[49]

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[44] The trope of armies depicted as locusts also appears in Judg 6.5 and the Targum of Joel 2.25 (cf. Ezek 38.9, 16).

[45] 1 Chr 1.1–2.2 is a "new" table of nations based on Gen 10.

[46] See Eduard König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895), 152–53; GKC §85e, 86e; Lauha, *Zaphon*, 69 (cf. Jan G. Aalders, *Gog en Magog in Ezechiél.* [Dissertation theologie. Amsterdam, Kampen, 1951], 166).

[47] See notes 51–52.

[48] Thus it is an act of *paronomasia*, play on cognate roots (for the Rabbinic hermeneutical practice of *paronomasia*, see H. L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* [trans. Markus Bockmuehl; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 29; Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 505–6, esp. note 103; cf. 1QpHab 8.6–13).

[49] See William Foxwell Albright, "Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology. Chapter 3: Gog and Magog," *JBL* 43 (1924): 378–85, esp. 379. Meredith G. Klein suggests that Magog was selected because he is from the north (?), which is often asso-

2. Gog's Allies

Gog's allies, with one exception, were derived from the Torah as well. The list of nations that make up Gog's horde (38.2–6) was adapted from the Table of Nations in Gen 10. Meshek (משך), Tubal (תבל), Cush (בוש), Put (פוט), Gomer (גמר), Togarmah (תוגרמה), and even Magog itself (מגוג) appear in Gen 10.2–8. All but one of these nations appear elsewhere in Ezekiel as well (32.26; 27.10, 14). However, Gomer (גמר) does not appear elsewhere in Ezekiel (Gen 10.2–3; Ezek 38.6), and Persia (פרס) does not appear in Gen 10 (Ezek 27.10; 38.5). The composer of the Gog oracles created his list of confederates by amalgamating the nations from Gen 10 with Tyre's trading partners in Ezek 27.[50] The author then determined that these nations were eschatological foes of Israel by means of a third text, Isa 66.19.

The names of several of Gog's allies appear in Isa 66.19. The MT of Isa 66.19 reads, "I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish (תרשיש), Put (פוט), and Lud – which draw the bow – to Tubal (תבל) and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations."[51] In addition, LXX-Isaiah, which is probably original, includes Meshek (משך) where MT has "who draws the bow" (משכי קשת).[52] The author of GO treated the three texts – Gen 10, Ezek 27 and Isa 66 – as if they were relevant to one another. The things that connect the three are their shared locutions (תרשיש, פוט, תבל, משך). These verbal links, in turn, indicate an interpretive relationship between them. Inasmuch as Isa 66 addresses the eschatological future, so, in some sense, Gen 10 and Ezek 27 must also. Isaiah 66, together with Num 24, supplied the timeframe in view. Genesis 10 and Ezek 27 supplied the full register of Israel's eschatological foes, which were introduced, in part,

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ciated with Zaphon, the mountain throne of the gods. Thus, for Klein, he is some sort of anti-Yhwh character ("Har Magedon: The End of the Millennium," *JETS* 39 [1996]: 216).

[50] In Ezek 38.13 three more nations appear as witnesses of Gog's invasion: Sheba (שבא), Dedan (דדן), and Tarshish (תרשיש). All three appear in Ezekiel (27.12, 15, 22–23) and Genesis (10.4, 7, 28; 25.3).

[51] The author of GO, as we will see later, made use of language and imagery from Isa 66.19 in the construction of Ezek 39.21–29. MT Isa 66.19 reads פול for פוט in error. See comments by Seeligmann (cited in the next note).

[52] Meshek and Tubal always appear together in the HB, except MT-Isa 66.19. The MT of 66.19 has לוד משכי קשת תבל, ". . . Lud who draws the bow, Tubal . . ." LXX, on the other hand, reads Μοσοχ καὶ Θοβελ. MT reflects an attempt to repair some corruption of the pair ותובל משך, based upon Jer 46.9: ולודים תפשי דרכי קשת (see the brilliant discussion in I. L. Seeligmann, "Indications of Editorial Alteration and Adaptation in the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint," *VT* 11 [1961]: 206; reprinted in *Gesammelte Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel mit einem Beitrag von Rudolf Smend* [FAT 41; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 449–467).

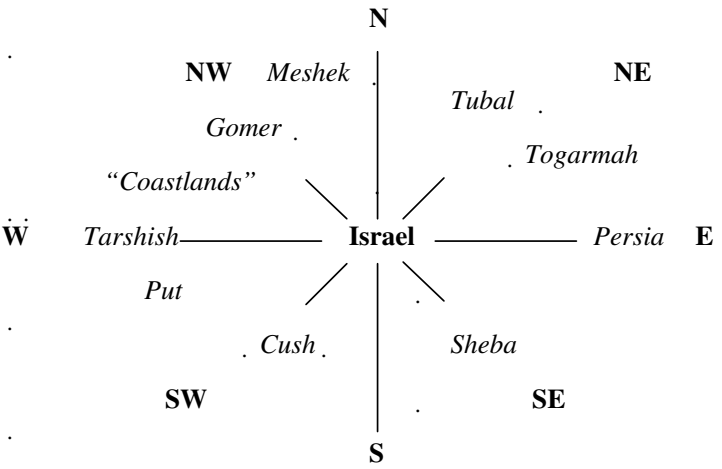
in Isa 66. This exegetical technique, whereby two or more texts can be connected in interpretation based on shared locutions is well known from the Qumran literature, Philo, the New Testament, the Targumim, and, especially, the midrashim.[53]

The author of GO did not just recycle names from other texts, however. The author used the list to suit his own purposes, in this case to invest the enemy-from-the-north tradition with global scope.[54]

[53] Many scholars are happy to refer to this technique by one of its Rabbinic counterparts, *gezera shawa* (on which, see Wilhelm Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, 1:13–16; 2:27; Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 18–19, 21, 24; S. Liebermann, *Hellenism*, 47–82; Samely, *Forms*, 78–96). All that I am suggesting is that there is a similarity between certain post-biblical exegetical practices and the technique applied by the author of GO in this case.

For examples of *gezera shawa* in the DSS, the Targumim, Philo, the Rabbinic literature, and the NT, see G. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 19–25, 166–69; Elieser Slomovik, "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 7/1 (1969): 5–10; Moshe Bernstein and Shlomo Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 84–86; Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly, "Some Techniques of Composition in Philo's Allegorical Commentary with Special Reference to *De Agricultura*: A Study in the Hellenistic Midrash," in *Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (ed. Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs; SJLA 21; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 55–56; Samuel Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law: The Philonic Interpretation of Biblical Law in Relation to the Palestinian Halakah* (HSS 11; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940); J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 3–14; R. Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, vol. 4: *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 452–62 (on Acts 15.13–21).

[54] Dürr, *Die Stellung*, 94, 97; Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 16; Brevard S. Childs, "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," *JBL* 78 (1959): 187–98. Note GO's redundant emphasis on the vastness of Gog's army: "a great company" (38.4), "many peoples" (38.6), "all the companies assembled around you" (38.7), "you will be like a cloud covering the land" (38.9), "you and all your host and many peoples with you" (38.9), "your horde" (38.13), "great horde, a mighty army" (38.15), "like a cloud covering the earth" (38.16), "the many peoples who are with you" (38.22), "you and all your troops and the many peoples with you" (39.4).



These particular nations were selected for two reasons. First, each represents a nation-descendant of Japheth and Ham (not Shem) from the primeval past.[55] Second, with the exception of Persia, they are not well-known historical enemies of Israel but far-flung nations of rumor. Taken together, they represent widely distributed stations on the compass.[56] The oracles depict a global gathering of peoples, from remote localities and from many directions, who converge on the mountains of Israel. In effect, the whole world is against Israel.[57]

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[55] Gen 9.18, 27; 10.2–5 (// 1 Chr 1.4–5). See the discussion in C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (trans. J. J. Scullion; Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 504–8, 528–30; Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, 99–107; James M. Scott, *Paul and Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the Destination of Galatians* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 5–14.

[56] Lauha, *Zaphon*, 70; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 439–42; Odell, "Are You He," 101–3, 107–8; Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, 106–7. This is reinforced by the depiction of Israel as the center of the world (טבור הארץ "navel of the earth," 38.12) surrounded by foes, which may have been inspired by Ezek 5.5 ("This is Jerusalem. I have set her in the midst of the nations, and countries are round about her.").

[57] 4QPseudo-Ezekiel interprets GO in the same way, as a universal judgment against the nations of the earth. "The day of doom for *the Gentiles* is coming [. . . Eg]ypt and anguish shall be in Put, and a sword shall be in Eg[ypt . . . w]ill shake, and Ethiopia and [Pu]l and the mighty of Arabia" (4Q385b, lines 2b–4; italics mine. *Qumran Cave 4*, *XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, ed. Devorah Dimant [DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001], 73). The same can be said for 1QM, *The Rule of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, which also takes Gen 10 as a register of all Gentiles (col. 2). The dualism in GO, all of the world versus Israel, does not ascend to the level of that in apocalyptic texts like Dan 7 and 1QM, where events on earth are reflec-

Another technique the author used to indicate the scope of the crisis is the symbolic use of number sets, in this case sets of seven.[58] Gog has seven allies.[59] The weapons they leave behind provide fuel for seven years (39.9). It takes seven months to bury the dead (39.12, 14). The dead are designated as food for the wild animals with seven appellatives (39.18). God hurls seven judgments against Gog (38.21–22). On two occasions, seven terms are used to designate the enemy's war gear (38.4–5; 39.9). Seven pericopae are introduced by the formula "thus says the Lord Yhwh" (38.3, 14, 10, 17; 39.1, 17, 25). There are seven variations on the recognition formula (38.13, 23; 39.6, 7 [bis], 22, 28). There are eight occurrences of the signatory formula (38.18, 21; 39.5, 8, 10, 13, 20, 29), but the one in 39.13 may be supernumerary. These do not reflect literal sets (e.g., seven months). Rather, casting the events and structuring the oracle with sets of seven is a stylized way of representing the global scope of Gog's conspiracy and the vast size of the conflict.[60] The invasion of Gog represents a world locked in a struggle between two forces: those who wish to harm Israel and God.[61]

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tions of events in the divine realm. Nor does it manifest the dualism of ancient Near Eastern chaos myths, where the maintenance of civilization and the state on earth are a reflection of the victory of order over chaos in the divine realm (contra Childs, "Enemy from the North," 192, 195–96; Fitzpatrick, *Disarmament*, 52–55). There is no separation between the human and divine spheres in Ezek 38–39.

[58] This is a common convention of apocalyptic literature. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 95; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC–AD 100* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 127.

[59] Gog actually has eight allies. The eighth are the peoples of the coastlands, who are destroyed in 39.6. They appear to be set at a distance from the list of other allies in 38.1–6 to preserve the set of seven there.

[60] Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 17; Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism*, 95; Dürr, *Die Stellung*, 67–108; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 296–302; Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 16–17; Hals, *Ezekiel*, 282–84; Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 94–96; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 424–32.

[61] B. Erling ("Ezekiel 38–39 and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Ex Orbe Religionum. Studia Geo Widengren* [edited by S. Brandon, C. Bleeker, and M. Simon; SHR 21; Leiden: Brill, 1972], 107), S. Cook (*Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 91) and P. Fitzpatrick (*Disarmament*, 88, 92) contend that Gog is presented as a moral force opposed to God, but issues of evil and judgment are not *explicitly* raised in GO. Gog's invasion plan is described as evil, but he is not permitted to complete the act that would render him guilty. He is compelled to his actions for the purpose of presenting an opportunity for Yhwh to reestablish his reputation, which was damaged when he exiled Israel and Judah (38.16, 23; 39.6, 7, 28). Gog's guilt is addressed *implicitly* by allusion, associating him with other wicked nations (as, e.g., with the allusion to Ezek 28.25–26).

3. The Descriptions of Gog and His Host

The author of GO never offers any physical description of Gog, like that of his host (38.4–6). The author of GO provides only three details regarding Gog in 38.1–6. First, he is "chief prince," נשיא ראש, of Meshek and Tubal (also 39.1). Second, he is impelled to his actions, "I will lead you around, and I will put hooks into your jaw, and I will bring you and all your army forth . . ." (v. 4). Third, he is a "guard," משמר, for his allies (38.7; see below under 38.7–16).

As noted in chapter 2, the designation "chief prince" is only used of the tribal chieftains of Israel in the book of Numbers (10.4; 36.1). Numbers 10.4 refers to the "princes (נשיאים), chiefs (ראשי) of the tribes of Israel." Numbers 36.1, likewise, refers to the "princes (נשיאים), chiefs (ראשי) of the ancestral houses."[62] The author of GO seems to have reapplied the phrase to Gog, as leader of all the "tribes" of nations. (Other ironic associations with Israel will be noted below.)

The threat that Yhwh will "put hooks into your jaw" was addressed in chapter 2 (pp. 68–69). As argued there, the imagery in 38.4 is derived, in part, from 2 Kgs 19.28 (= Isa 37.29), particularly the image of coercion. The locutions used to express the imagery, however, were derived from Ezek 29.4–5. There are other commonalities between GO and Ezek 29 as well (locutions that reappear in GO are in parentheses.)

(4) But I will put hooks in your jaws (ונתתי חחים בלחייך // 38.4)
and I will cause the fish of your rivers to stick to your scales.
And I will bring you up (העל יתיך // 39.2) out of the midst of your rivers,
and all the fish of your rivers will stick to your scales.
(5) And I will leave you in the wilderness,
you and all the fish of your rivers.
Upon the face of field you will fall (על פני השדה תפול // 39.5)
you will not be brought together,
you will not be gathered (קבץ // 39.27).
To the beasts of the field (לחית הארץ // 39.4)
and to the birds of the air (ולעוף השמים // 39.4)
I have given you for food (נתתיך אכלה // 39.4).

In GO, the description of Gog being coerced, killed, and consumed uses many locutions that are distinctive of Pharaoh's capture, death, and ingestion by carrion animals. Here in 38.4 the author has combined elements from Ezek 29 and 2 Kgs 19 to paint his portrait of Gog. As we will see in 39.1–8, when the author revisits Ezek 29 to excavate it for more language

[62] The two nouns are in apposition in Num 10.4 and 36.1, whereas ראש is an attributive adjective in GO. On the reading Pως, as a proper name, see the translation notes. See also n.7 above.

and imagery, there again he will combine its extracts with elements from other texts to create a multifaceted textual collage.

The description of Pharaoh's fate, then, clearly served as one literary inspiration for Gog's fate. However, it would be too much to say that the author of GO, in some way, saw the fate of Gog prefigured in the fate of Pharaoh. The judgments, when announced against Pharaoh, are figurative. When they are applied to Gog, they are literal. GO does not interpret, update, or overturn Ezek 29. The similarities in judgment language and imagery between the two texts, then, serve largely to create cohesion between GO and the book of Ezekiel.

In contrast to Gog, the description of Gog's allied nations in 38.4–5 is predominated by attention to their clothing and war gear. Still, just as Gog was awarded a distinctly Israelite title, "chief prince," so too is the host. The author of GO designates Gog's host a "great company" (קהל רב/גדול; 38.4, 15). As was pointed out in chapter 1, קהל רב is widely used in the HB for the "great congregation" of Israel (Pss 22.26; 35.18; 40.10, 11; Ezra 10.1) and is synonymous with קהל גדול (1 Kgs 8.65; 2 Chr 7.8). The author of GO, following Ezekiel's practice, uses both phrases (קהל רב/גדול) for a military mob. Thus, Gentile master and Gentile servants are all branded with designations that are typical of uniquely Israelite institutions.

The allies' clothing and weapons (vv. 4b–5) are itemized in some detail, using locutions culled from Ezek 21, Ezek 27, and, especially, from Ezek 23, the description of Israel's foreign lovers:

(4b) I will bring you and all your army forth, horsemen, riders of horses, all of them perfectly clothed, a great company, mantlets and shields, all of them grasping swords. (5) Persia, Cush and Put are with them. All of them have shield and helmet.

– פרשים רכבי סוסים, 23.6, 12 (23)
– לבשי מכלול, 23.12
– צנה ומגן, 23.24
– חרב + תפש, 21.16 (30.21)
– מגן + בובע, 27.10

That the author intended to link these passages is indicated by two facts. First, the three constituents borrowed from 23.12 are marked as a citation, not only by the identical verbiage, but by the inversion of the constituents in GO (38.4b לבשי מכלול, רכבי סוסים, פרשים // 23.12 פרשים, רכבי סוסים, לבשי מכלול). Second, every one of these locutions is unnecessary in Ezek 38. They contribute nothing to the plot or argument of GO. They only serve as pointers back to their original contexts. The locution "clothed perfectly," לבשי מכלול, actually, makes little sense in the new context.[63] The author of GO sacrificed conceptual coherence within GO to maximize linguistic cohesion between GO and Ezekiel. In fact, this seems to be the

[63] The LXX translator, sensitive to the fact that the locution לבשי מכלול makes little sense in the context, adapted it: ἐνδεδυμένους θώπακας πάντας, "all dressed in breastplates."

primary purpose of these locutions. Noting the echo and identifying the source text does not reveal any interpretation or reformulation of Ezek 21, 23, or 27 within GO. It serves to coordinate the language of GO with that of the larger book, and it covertly encourages the reader to transfer the negative associations of Israel's lovers to Gog and his allies.

4. "The Far Reaches of the North"

In 38.6, the locution ירכתי צפון, "the far reaches of the north" is applied to Togarmah: "Gomer and all his hordes // the house of Togarmah (the remote parts of the north) and all his hordes." The phrase ירכתי צפון is a modifier. It stands in apposition to תוגרמה and interrupts between the coordinate phrase, "house of Togarmah and all his hordes," בית תוגרמה ואת כל אגפיו.

The source and significance of the locution "far reaches of the north" will be addressed in 39.1, where it is applied to Gog himself.[64]

II. Ezekiel 38.7–16: "You Will Devise an Evil Scheme . . ."

Ezekiel 38.7–16 overlaps three textual units in the formal structure of GO: 38.1–9; 10–13, 14–16 (see pp. 134–37). I will be addressing vv. 7–16 as a whole for several reasons. In v. 7, God begins his first address to Gog. His accusation against Gog comprises vv. 7–16, and the announcement of judgment comprises 18–23. I will treat the accusation as a whole, because the author reused elements from a number of scriptural texts throughout most or all of the accusation.

(7) "Prepare yourself, and ready all your company for yourself[65]: the ones assembled around you. And you have been a guard *unto them*.[66] (8) After many days[67] *you*[68] will be

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[64] In 38.15, also, Gog is described as coming מירכתי צפון, but, as will be explained in 39.1, there are good reasons to explore the locution there.

[65] The clause הכן והכן לך אתה וכל קהלך has caused interpreters considerable difficulty. The problem is that the text presents the same verb (כון) expressed first as a passive-reflexive and then as a causative, which leads us to expect an object. When כון takes the preposition -ל (לך) it expresses the beneficiary of the action not its object. Most interpreters take אתה וכל קהלך as a compound subject of both verbs ("you and all your host prepare yourselves and [you and all your host] prepare . . . for yourself"). But, this leaves the object of the *hiphil* unexpressed. I suspect (this construction is unique) that the clause, as pointed in the MT, should be understood as follows: (1) *niphal*, הכן, (2) *hiphil*, הכן, (3) agent/patient of the *niphal*, אתה, (4) object of the *hiphil*, כל קהלך. Thus, I translate "prepare yourself (אתה + הכן) and prepare, for yourself, all your host (כל + והכן לך קהלך)."

[66] The designation מִשְׁמָר is problematic. A משמר is a "place of confinement, gaol, prison" (*mem*-preformative noun of location) or, in LBH, a "guard, watch, observance" (*HALOT* 2:649). None of these translations are obvious choices for the current context. In addition, LXX offers μοι (לי) in place of להם. Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 422), Toy (*Ezekiel*,

summoned.[69] In the latter years[70] *you* will come to a land – [the one] brought back from the sword, gathered out of many peoples – unto the *mountains*[71] of Israel, which were a perpetual waste.[72] But it[73] was brought forth out of the nations, and they [now] dwell securely all of them. (9) You will go up. Like a storm[74] you will come. You will be like a cloud covering[75] the land, you, and all your hordes, and many people [with] you."[76]

(10) Thus says the Lord Yhwh, "It will happen in that day, that things will come into your mind, and you will form an evil plan. (11) And you will say, 'I will go up against a land of *homesteads*.[77] I will come against those at rest {+}[78] *secure inhabitants*,[79] all of

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100), Eissfeld (*Ezekiel*, 515, 523), and many others suggest "be on guard for me [to call upon]." This requires, in addition to following LXX, that משמר be emended to a *niphal* imperative הִשָּׁמֵר. Crane suggests that the LXX represents an adjustment, bringing this verse in line with 38.4, where God commands and controls Gog (*Restoration*, 150; contra Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 286, 306). It may indicate that Gog compels his allies, just as he is compelled by God (Isa 14.6–12, 16, 21b).

[67] The phrase מימים רבים only occurs here and in Josh 23.1, where it indicates the time between Israel entering the land and Joshua's farewell address.

[68] MT has 2d-person singular ך- on two occasions within v. 7, whereas LXX has 3d-person singular "he." Thus, in LXX God's speech in vv. 7–9 is interrupted by v. 8. The MT represents a text that has undergone secondary smoothing.

[69] Regarding the *niphal* of פקד, compare the use of the *qal* in Jer 15.3 and 51.27.

[70] באחרית השנים is unique to GO. A similar phrase appears (in the sg.) in Deut 11.12 with a different denotation: "the eyes of Yahweh your God are on it [the land], from the beginning of the year to the end of the year." In the current context, it is used as a variation on באחרית הימים (38.16; see the discussion on pages 94–97). LXX interprets with a telic sense, ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου ἐτῶν, "last years," though Block denies that it requires this understanding (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 100).

[71] LXX^{B} has γῆν Ισραηλ, "land of Israel," in place of הרי ישראל, apparently clarifying the scope of the expression (per 38.8, 11, 12, 16, 18, etc.).

[72] The locution חרבה תמיד does not appear elsewhere in the book. חרבה is used of places (not people) in Ezekiel (e.g., 5.14; 25.13; 30.12; 35.4). We have here a blending of images: the mountains of Israel representing the people who live there (// 6.1–14; 19.1–9, 34.11–16; 36.1–15), and the depiction of the land as חרבה following the judgment (// 6.1–14; 33.24, 27; 35.4; 36.4, 10). The LXX translator, possibly noting the peculiarity of the expression, translated ὅλου for תמיד, a word usually reserved for translating כל.

[73] The immediate antecedent of הִיא is "land" (personified). Because "unto mountains of Israel" is appositional to "unto land," and intrudes between ארץ and היא, many purge either היא, "it" or "unto the mountains of Israel" (e.g., Cornill, *Ezekiel*, 422; Toy, *Ezekiel*, 100; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 286). Note the reappearance of the 3d plural suffix (כלם) which marks where the image of people-as-land is suspend.

[74] שאה means "storm" or "destruction/devastation." LXX opts for the former, ὑετός, "heavy rain," probably to coordinate with the cloud image in the next clause.

[75] In the construction בענן לכסות (ב- + noun + inf. const.) the infinitive indicates motive or (as here) attendant circumstance (GKC §114*o*); e.g., 1 Chr 12.8; Gen 2.3; Isa 21.1, etc.

[76] For אוֹתָךְ all the versions read אִתָּךְ, "with you."

[77] For פרזות (always plural) BDB offers, "hamlet, open region" i.e., unwalled town. *HALOT* corrects this to "the open country, as distinct from unwalled towns" (unwalled towns are ערי פרזות). For ארץ פרזות LXX reads "rejected land" (γῆν ἀπερριμένην).

them dwelling {+}[80] without a wall, and they have neither bar nor gates, (12) in order to take spoil, and in order to seize plunder' – in order to turn *your hand*[81] against the desolate places which are inhabited, and against the people regathered from the nations {+},[82] who have acquired cattle {*and goods*},[83] inhabitants in the navel[84] of the earth. (13) Sheba, and Dedan, and the *merchants of Tarshish*,[85] and all her *lions*[86] – they will say to you, 'Have you come to take spoil? Have you gathered your company to collect booty; to carry away silver and gold; to take cattle {*and goods*},[87] to take a {*great*}[88] spoil?'"

ἀπορρίπτω occurs six times in LXX-Ezek, always for שלך in the *hiphil* or *hophal* (16.5; 18.31; 20.7, 8; 23.35; 38.11). LXX appears to have a text that reads ארץ שָׁפוּךְ/שְׁפוּכָה (contra Crane, *Restoration*, 154–55).

[78] LXX$^{B, A}$ have a plus at this point, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, "in quiet." This plus is not present in Pap^{967} or *W*. It is probably an expansion in LXX$^{B, A}$.

[79] ישבי לבטח is a broken construct chain: "dwellers of . . . securely." This type of broken chain (construct participle + preposition) is not uncommon (GKC §130a; *IBHS* §9.6). The phrase is absent in Pap^{967}, possibly due to *parablepsis* with ἡσυχαζοντας at the end of the preceding line in the manuscript. It is present in LXX^{B}.

[80] LXX^{B} incudes γῆς, "a *land* without a wall." LXX^{A} has πόλεις, "*cities* without a wall." Pap^{967} agrees with the shorter MT text.

[81] LXX reads "turn *my* hand" (ידי), continuing the speech of Gog, which began in v. 11.

[82] LXX adds πολλῶν, "many nations." Similar expansions appear in MT 39.27 (27.33) and LXX 39.4, 23. See the discussion in Timothy Mackie, "Expanding Ezekiel: The Hermeneutics of Scribal Addition in the Ancient Text Witnesses of the Book of Ezekiel" (Ph.D. diss.; University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2010), 185–87.

[83] קנין is not represented in LXX, either here or in v. 13. The translator appears to have telescoped the two terms (מקנה וקנין) into one, κτήσεις.

[84] טבור means "navel" in Aramaic and is translated by ὀμφαλόν in LXX. The expression טבור ארץ appears only in Judg 9.37, where it refers to the slopes of Mt. Gerazim (but see also Jub 8.19; 1 Enoch 26.1). LXX supplies the denotation of the metaphor, "center of the earth" (ἐπὶ τὸν ὀμφαλόν τῆς γῆς), rather than translating the metaphor itself.

[85] For סחרי תרשיש, Pap^{967} offers Καρχηδόνιος, "of Carthage"; LXX^{B} has Καρχηδόνιοι, "Carthaginian"; and LXX^{A} reads Χαλκηδόνος, "of Chalcedon." All these readings are contemporizing interpretations.

[86] For the phrase וכל כפריה, LXX, Theodotion, Peshitta, and Vulgate all offer "her villages." LXX reads καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν. Κώμη only appears here in LXX-Ezek. Elsewhere in the Latter Prophets it is used for עיר (Jer 19.15) and קריה (Jer 30.25; Isa 42.11). There is a term, however, כפר "village" (Cant 7.12; Neh 6.2; 1 Chr 27.25), which may indicate that the versions have the same consonantal text as the Masoretes did, but understood it as כְּפָרֶיהָ, "her villages," not as כְּפִרֶיהָ, "her lions." Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 287-88), Elliger (BHS), and Toy (*Ezekiel*, 100) see a corruption from רכליה, "her traders" (// ch. 27). In the same vein Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 424) suggested בנעניה, "her traders." Others (e.g., Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 445n109) preserve the MT vocalization and take it as a metaphor, "leaders/magnates" (so Ezek 19.2, 5–6; 32.2; Isa 5.29; etc.).

[87] See n. 83.

[88] LXX lacks גדול. It may well be an expansion in MT as reflected in Symmachus and Theodotion and argued by Mackie ("Expanding," 111).

(14) Therefore, son of man, prophesy and say to Gog, "Thus says the Lord Yhwh, 'In that day, when my people Israel dwells safely, will you {*not*}[89] *know*?[90] (15) And you will come from your place, from the far reaches of the north, you and many people with you, all of them horsemen, a great host, and a mighty army. (16) And you will come up against my people Israel like a cloud covering the land – this will be in the latter days – and I will bring you against my land, in order that {+}[91] the nations know me, when I show myself holy among you before their eyes, {*O Gog*}.[92]'"

The muster of Israel's foes in 38.1–6 is followed by a lengthy description of their arrival in the land, crafted as a divine accusation. The accusation begins and ends with a picture of the vastness of the invading host, as viewed from a high vantage (38.8–9, 16). From the heights of Israel's mountains the host of Gog is observed, ascending, like a rising fog bank smothering the land beneath it:

(8) After many days you will be summoned. In the latter years (באחרית השנים) you will come to a land (תבוא אל ארץ) – the one brought back from the sword, gathered out of many peoples – unto the mountains of Israel . . . (9) You will go up (ועלית). Like a storm you will come (תבוא). You will be like a cloud covering the land (בענן לכסות ארץ), you, and all your hordes, and many people with you."

This is recapitulated in v. 16 (similar language to vv. 8–9 in parentheses):

And you will come up (עלית) against my people Israel like a cloud covering the land (בענן לכסות ארץ) – this will be in the latter days (באחרית הימים) – and I will bring you against my land (והבאותיך על ארצי), in order that the nations know me, when I show myself holy among you before their eyes, O Gog.

These verses form an *inclusio* around the unit, rounding it off before the announcement of judgment in vv. 18–23.

In the intervening verses, the author of GO provides an intimate glimpse into Gog's heart, revealing his impulses, thoughts, and motives and a description of conditions in the land just before he arrives. There is some question about the reliability of Gog's knowledge regarding the conditions

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[89] Pap[967] is lacking οὐκ (LXX[B]; LXX[A] reads οὐχι), having καὶ in its place.

[90] For תֵּדָע LXX reads ἐγερθήσῃ : : תֵּעֹר, "you will arise" (see Jer 6.22, "a great nation will arise [יעור]"). MasEzek supports MT. LXX is concordant with the theme of God inciting Gog to invade (38.4). Either MT is the result of a graphic confusion (ר/ד) and metathesis of radicals 2 and 3 of the root, or the Greek translator chose to strengthen the link between Jer 6.22 and Ezek 38.14.

[91] Several LXX mss have πάντα (כל הגוים). Many commentators purge this unique form of the recognition formula, because it is "non-Ezekielian" (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 39; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 201).

[92] The vocative גוג at the end of the verse in MT is often deleted as an awkward plus based on the LXX evidence (so Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 414). As Crane observes, it is, in fact, present in LXX (*Restoration*, 160–61). In Pap[967] it appears at the beginning of v. 17, whereas LXX[B,A] both place it after the introductory formula, "thus says the Lord Yhwh" in v. 17 (τάδε λέγει κύριος κύριος τῷ Γωγ).

of the land in 38.10–13. GO, as whole, presents Israel as helpless before Gog, so the description of the physical conditions of the land as defenseless and unreconstructed appears to be reliable (38.8, 11, 12). Gog, though, expresses a desire to plunder Israel for "spoil," "cattle and goods" (38.12). The spectator nations depict it even more grandly as "great spoil," "silver, gold, cattle, and goods" (38.13). Gog and his allies' words and intentions in 38.10–13 appear to be crafted, in part, to depict them as irrational. Gog does not know what truly motivates him (contrast 38.4 with 38.10–12). He and his allies speak repeatedly of plunder (38.12, 13; 39.10), but they recognize that Israel is still unreconstructed (38.8, 11, 12). More irrational yet, Gog throws a massive host, drawn from all quarters of the world, against this small, defenseless population (38.4–7, 15–16).

The entire section (vv. 7–16) seems unfocused, wandering, and redundant. Its overarching shape, though, is actually dictated by two prophetic texts: Isa 10 and Jer 49. The pieces and parts of 38.7–13 follow the order of elements in those two texts (almost) perfectly:

Isaiah 10.3–7	Jeremiah 49.30–33	Ezekiel 38.7–13
(3) יום + פקדה *the day of visitation*		(8) מימים רבים תפקד *after many days you will be summoned*
(3) לשואה . . . תבוא *the storm/devastation will come*		(9) בשאה תבוא *like a storm/ devastation, you will come*
(7) לבבו + חשב (2x) *form in (his) mind*	(30) חשב על יהם מחשבה *formed a plan against them*	(10) לבבך *your mind* (10) וחשבת מחשבת רעה *you will form an evil plan*
	(31) קומו עלו אל גוי שלו יו *arise, go up against a nation at ease*	(11) אעלה על ארץ . . . השקטים *I will go up against a land . . . at rest*
	(31) יושב לבטח *dwelling securely*	(11) ישבי לבטח *dwelling securely*
	(31) לא דלתים ולא בריח לו *they* (sg.) *have no gates and no bar*	(11) ובריח ודלתים אין להם *they have neither bar nor gates*
(5–6) לשל שלל ולבז בז *to take spoil and to seize plunder*	(32) לבז . . . לשלל *to plunder and to spoil*	(12–13) לשלל שלל ולבז בז *to take spoil and to seize plunder*
	(32) גמל יהם . . . מקניהם *camels . . . cattle*	(12–13) מקנה *cattle*

Isaiah 10.3–7	Jeremiah 49.30–33	Ezekiel 38.7–13
	(33) שממה עד עולם *perpetual waste* (33) לא ישב שם *without an inhabitant*	(12) על חרבות נושבת *against inhabited ruins*

Isaiah 10.1–34 is a cautionary exhortation to the inhabitants of Judah, warning them of God's impending judgment in the form of an Assyrian invasion. This is punishment for abuses of justice against the poor and vulnerable. In vv. 5–19 the prophet then announces doom against Assyria for her arrogant plans of conquest. Gog manifests certain similarities to Assyria that go beyond verbal parallels. Both are tools of God, forced to invade his people. The internal thoughts of both are given voice as a greed for plunder and power. Like Assyria, Gog too is crushed by God after carrying out his requirements. Assyria, though, is judged for arrogance. Gog is destroyed to manifest Yhwh's power and prerogative.[93]

Jeremiah 49.28–33 is also an invasion warning. In this case it is about military action by Babylon against Kedar and Hazor. Like Israel in GO, Kedar is depicted peaceful (גוי שליו) and defenseless (יושב לבטח לא דלתים ולא בריח לו), singled out by Nebuchadrezzar for plunder (. . . גמליהם לבז מקניהם לשלל) because of its vulnerability. Hazor, mentioned at the end of the oracle like an afterthought, will be ravaged, abandoned as a perpetual ruin (שממה עד עולם, לא ישב שם).[94] The majority of verbal similarities between Jer 49.28–33 and GO have to do with the condition of the land, especially the condition of the lands of Kedar and Israel before they are invaded. The characterization of Nebuchadrezzar's thoughts as a scheme, an evil plan, is used to depict Gog as well.

The author of GO constructed verses 8–10, in large part, from elements of Isa 10. Verses 10–13 were then constructed out of elements taken from Jer 49.28–33. The author, it appears, saw a link between Isa 10 and Jer 49 in their topic (announcement of conquest) and in their similar verbiage: summons or visitation (פקד), evil plans (חשב), plunder and spoil (בז + שלל). The author of GO treated the two texts, Isa 10 and Jer 49, as if they were relevant to one another. Although the two texts have a common subject and topoi, they have little in common in terms of argument or ideology. The author of GO used them not as prophecies about the future per se, but para-

[93] Another verbal link to Isa 10.15 appears in Ezek 38.23, discussed below.

[94] Klein (*Schriftauslegung*, 135–36) notes most of these parallels as well. She sees Ezek 38.10–16 as a *Fortschreibung* on Jer 49.30–32, which assumes that the failure of the oracle to be fulfilled demanded its updating. I understand it differently (see following paragraphs).

digmatically, as if future events will be patterned on events from the past.[95] GO relates past events to future events so closely that they correspond in many of their details. What will happen to the restoration community in the "latter days" has happened many times in history to many different peoples. This technique, sometimes referred to as typology, is widely attested in the Prophets and in scriptural interpretation throughout the Second Temple period and beyond.[96] What sets GO's recapitulation of this figural situation apart from Isa 10 or Jer 49 is that the conquest and destruction do not come to fruition. GO is, in a sense, an aborted type scene. God will act on Israel's behalf before the disaster can come to pass.[97]

The text of Ezek 38.7–16 does not slavishly mimic Isaiah and Jeremiah. On occasion, the verbiage of Isaiah or Jeremiah has been adapted, to suit the linguistic habits of Ezekiel (see below). Nor does 38.7–13 draw exclu-

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[95] This hermeneutical stance is already apparent within the book of Isaiah. Isa 10 is just one part of a larger literary strategy in which God brings low all things that are lofty and proud. See below, p. 173 n.154.

[96] Stories in the HB are, not uncommonly, patterned on earlier stories. So, e.g., many acts in the lives of Elijah and Elisha are typologically patterned on acts from the life of Moses. Moses parted the Reed Sea; Elijah parted the Jordan. Moses wandered the wilderness for forty years; Elijah lived in the wilderness forty days. Moses and Elijah both met with God on Horeb. Elisha's first supernatural act, healing evil waters, mirrors Moses' first miracle, purifying bitter waters, and so on. For principles of "typology" as a purposeful exegetical technique see I. L. Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," in *Gesammelte Studien zur hebräischen Bibel, mit einem Beitrag von Rudolf Smend* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 1–30; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 350–79. In the Qumran literature, Israel's past is often paradigmatic of her future (D. Flusser, "פרושים, צדוקים, ואסיים בפשר נחום," in *Essays in Jewish History and Philology in Memory of Gedaliah Alon*, ed. M. Dorman, et al.; [Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1970], 133–68 [repr., "Pharisäer, Sadduzäer und Essener im Pescher Nahum," in *Qumran: Wege der Forschung*, ed. Karl Erich Grözinger [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981], 121–66; M. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 [Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979], 245–47; Maier, "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation," 125, 127), whereas certain streams of Christian interpretation depicted the past as supplanted by the present (see O. Betz, "Past Events and Last Events in the Qumran Interpretation of History," *WCJS* 6 [1977]: 27–34). See also D. Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980): 18–36; George Brooke, "The Thematic Content of 4Q252," *JQR* 85 (1994): 33–59; Shanni Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. M. Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–33.

[97] It should be noted that certain scholars refer to "overt typologies" in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which, though related, is a different phenomenon. An "overt typology" as defined by Shani Tzoref refers to "the adoption and adaptation of biblical language, particularly epithets, for polemical sectarian purposes" ("Qumran Pesharim and the Pentateuch: Explicit Citation, Overt Typologies, and Implicit Interpretive Traditions," *DSD* 16 [2009]: 207). Geza Vermes referred to this technique as "exegetical symbolism" (*Scripture and Tradition*, 11–66).

sively upon these two texts. Scattered around and among the phrases and clauses inspired by Isa 10 and Jer 49 is a potpourri of locutions borrowed from elsewhere in the Torah and Prophets. Ezekiel 38.7–16 is filled out with numerous locutions adopted from the exodus tradition (in Exodus and Deuteronomy), the Holiness Code, Judges, other parts of Isaiah, and Joel, in addition to Ezekiel itself.

The descriptions of the restored community (38.8) as having been "gathered out of the peoples" (מקבצת מעמים)[98] and "brought forth from the nations" (מעמים הוצאה)[99] are both stereotypical expressions of the exodus tradition. In addition, the locution "come to the land" (תבוא אל ארץ), applied to Gog himself, is an expression for the settlement, which is most common in the Deuteronomic literature.[100] Outside of GO, these three locutions are never used unless it is in reference to the exodus and settlement, and apart from one occurrence (Josh 5.5), none is ever found outside of the Torah. None of these locutions is rare enough to point to a particular source text or context. They do serve to color the restoration as a new exodus, in keeping with the ideology of the book of Ezekiel as a whole (esp. ch. 20). What is more, the application of settlement language to Gog himself is a snide dig by the author against his own literary creation, the implications of which will become clear in 39.9–16.

In addition to the elements from Isa 10, Jer 49, and the exodus and settlement traditions, this pericope exhibits a considerable number of distinctive locutions drawn from a wide variety of other sources. They are used, mainly, to describe the condition of the land and the restoration community prior to Gog's invasion. Apart from those locutions which evoke Ezek 6 (משובבת מחרב, הרי ישראל), *these remaining borrowed locutions appear to be selected largely as raw materials, language for telling the story, not for evoking a source text per se*. They include (in order of appearance):

1. חרבה תמיד, *"perpetual ruin"* (38.8). The notion behind this expression probably originated from Jer 49.33 (see chart above), but the author chose to express it using the language of Ezekiel (see 5.14; 13.4; 25.13; 26.2, 20; 29.9, 10, 12; 33.24, 27; 35.4; 36.4, 10).

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[98] Deut 30.3; Ezek 11.17; 29.13. This Deuteronomic expression is found in the promise of covenant fidelity in Deut 30. That GO derived the locution from Deut is indicated by the fact that many other elements from the covenant blessings, curses, promises, and cautions in Deut 28–32 are repeated in GO.

[99] Exod 3.10, 12; 7.4; 12.31 [11.8]; Josh 5.5. The locution עם + יצא is a signature of the exodus story. Outside of the exodus story, it only occurs in Joshua (where it is also used in reference to the exodus) and here in GO.

[100] This exact locution and variations on it are particularly common in Deuteronomy (Deut 8.7; 17.14; 18.9; 26.1; 32.52; cf. 4.21; 26.3; 27.3) but also occur elsewhere (Lev 14.34; Num 15.2; 34.2; Ezek 38.8; cf. 38.16).

2. ישבו לבטח, "dwell securely" (38.8). This is a common H locution (Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5) that was discussed above on p. 88. Implications of its use will be explored in the next chapter, on pp. 246–48 ("Sequence of Future Events").
3. ענן לכסות, *"cloud covering"* (38.9, 16). On a number of occasions, the author of GO made playful use of distinctive cult imagery to describe Gog or Gog's death. This particular locution is derived from Num 9.16, where it describes the cloud covering the tabernacle (30.18; 32.7; 38.9, 16).[101]
4. פרז/ות, *"open countryside / homestead(s)"* (38.10); אין חומה, *"without a wall"* (38.11); ובריח ודלתים, *"bar and gate"* (38.13). A similar locution occurs in Jer 49.31 and was, surely, the original inspiration for the locution in GO. The author then adapted the expression, conflating it with Deut 3.5:

   – Ezek 38.11 ". . . I will go up against the *countryside* (פרזות); I will come against those at rest, secure inhabitants, all of them dwelling without a *wall* (חומה), and they have neither *bar* (בריח) nor *gates* (דלתים)."
   – Deut 3.5 "All these were fortress towns with high *walls* (חומה), double *gates* (דלתים), and *bars* (בריח), besides a great many *homesteads* (פרזי)."

   There is a secondary conflation in Ezek 38.11 as well. The locution, "without a wall," though inspired by Deut 3.5, was adapted to the language of the H code (Lev 25.31). Ezekiel 38.11 is also an inversion of Deut 3.5. There, the fortified cities of the Canaanites are no protection against the invading Israelites. In Ezek 38.11, the unfortified cities of Israel are impervious to the invading army of Gog.[102]

5. יושבי חרבות/חרבות נושבות, *"inhabitants of ruins/inhabited ruins"* (38.12). In chapter 33 of Ezekiel, the survivors of the disaster of 587 B.C.E. are living in the ruined dwellings of the land (33.24, 27), an image taken up in GO and reapplied to the returnees from exile (38.12). See also the first bullet point in this list.

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[101] This phrase does appear in Ezekiel on two occasions, both in the oracles against Egypt. It is used once to describe the fall of Tahpanes (30.18), and once for the death of the Pharaoh (32.7). In those cases it is a metaphor for judgment. In GO it is a simile: Gog's armies cover the land like a cloud. It is impossible to tell if the author of GO knew it, first, from Ezekiel (as suggested by proximity) or from the Torah (as suggested by the difference in usage between GO and Ezekiel).

[102] By "conflation" I mean nothing more than "combinations of certain biblical texts" (E. Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 [1985]: 19). For a discussion of conflation within GO, see below pp. 232–35.

6. מקנה וקנין, *"cattle and goods"* (38.12, 13). The inclusion of this expression was inspired by מקניהם . . . גמליהם in Jer 49.33, but the author conflated the phrase with the well-worn locution from the patriarchal stories (Gen 31.18; 34.23; 36.6). This may have been an unconscious adaptation[103] or may have been selected to color the resettlement with overtones of a new national beginning.
7. טבור הארץ, *"navel of the earth"* (38.12). This unique expression is known only from Judg 9.37 and GO. In Judges it refers to a mountain or heights near Shechem (the referent is uncertain). GO borrows the expression but uses it to designate the "mountains of Israel" as the center of the earth. This reflects an ideology that is later than DtrH, in which the mountains of Israel (or Zion in particular) are the center point of the created order.[104]
8. ירכתי צפון, *"the far reaches of the north"* (Isa 14.13).[105] This locution, derived from Isaiah, will be discussed below under 39.1–8.
9. רכבי סוסים, *"riders of horses"* (38.15). This locution was borrowed from Ezek 23.4b. (See above on Ezek 38.1–6, p. 152–53.)

The author of GO saw, in Isa 10 and Jer 49 texts well suited to his purpose: painting a picture of Gog's motives and the helpless state of Israel. He then fleshed out the elements borrowed from Isa 10 and Jer 49 with elements borrowed from a wide variety of antecedent texts. One side effect of this rich mix of scriptural language and topoi is the disjointed quality of the pericope, its shifting point of view and redundancy. The ungainliness of the pericope notwithstanding, the author of GO achieved an entirely new oracle out of recycled textual materials collected from a remarkable array of sources, including all five books of the Torah, DtrH, and all three of the major prophets.

III. Ezekiel 38.18–23: "There Will Be a Great Shaking . . ."

Ezekiel 38.18–23 announces judgment against Gog. There is agreement in the manuscript tradition that vv. 18–23 belong together as a pericope (see *Excursus A*). There is no agreement, however, regarding the proper placement of the editorial comment in v. 17. MT separates it from the surround-

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[103] See Moshe Bernstein, "Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

[104] Perhaps even the physical beginning *point* of creation, which began at the temple mount and spread out from there until the universe was completed (See Martin Jaffee, *Early Judaism: Religious Worlds of the First Judaic Millennium* [Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997], 92–124).

[105] ארץ צפון appears in Jer 3.18; 6.22; 10.22; 16.15; 31.7; 46.10; 50.9; Zech 2.10; 6.6, 8. מלך צפון appears in Dan 11.6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 40. מצפון appears in Isa 14.3; 41.25; 49.12; Jer 1.14; 4.6; 6.1; Ezek 8.5; 26.7; Ps 107.3.

ing context with *setumôt* before and after. The Greek witnesses sometimes attach it to the preceding verses and sometimes to vv. 18–23. Although v. 17 is included in the translation here, it will be discussed in chapter six below.

(17) {+} Thus says the Lord Yhwh {+},[106] "Are you the one[107] of whom I spoke in bygone days by the hand of my servants the prophets of Israel, {*the ones prophesying*}[108] in those days – *years*[109] – in order to bring you against them?"

(18) "And it will come about in that day, in the day Gog comes against the land of Israel," – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh – "my wrath will be aroused {*with my anger*}[110] (19) for in my jealousy,[111] in the fire of my fury I have spoken. Surely in that day there

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[106] Pap[967] has Γωγ at the head of the verse. LXX[B] places τῷ Γωγ (גוג[אל־]) at the end of the quotation formula. These differences are discussed above in the translation notes for v. 16.

[107] The interrogative *hê* on האתה is not represented by LXX, Peshitta or Vulgate, leading most commentators to eliminate it as a dittography. As Cornill points out, we should anticipate the interrogative negative הלא for a question at this point (*Ezechiel*, 425; *nota bene*, Isa 51.9, 10; Jer 14.22; 2 Chr 20.6). Thus, Block's and Fitzpatrick's contention that the question demands a negative answer evaporates. Crane retains the MT reading but concludes that "LXX may be seen as making a theological statement that there is no doubt that it is Gog who has been spoken (prophesied) about by the prophets of Israel." He also notes (against Block and Fitzpatrick) that two other rhetorical questions have been addressed to Gog thus far (vv. 13, 14), and both required a positive answer (Block, "Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 170–72; *Ezekiel 25–48*, 453–54; Fitzpatrick, *Disarmament*, 93; Crane, *Restoration*, 163).

[108] LXX does not render הנבאים. It could be a plus in MT, as supported by its appearance in Theodotion (Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1875, reprinted 1964], 871), or it could have been omitted by haplography (Block, "Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 162). Absent more evidence, I am inclined (without conviction) toward the former.

[109] The apposition of שנים with the phrase בימים ההם is confusing. A number of solutions are available: (1) LXX[B], Targum, and Peshitta all supply a *waw* (ושנים); (2) Elliger (BHS apparatus) suggests ההם שנים is a mistaken redivision and corruption of an original הראשנים; (3) Cooke appeals to GKC §118k, suggesting שנים is an "accusative of time" answering the unspoken question "how long?" (*Ezekiel*, 414). That, however, is the function of "in former days . . . in those days," and it does not resolve the awkward apposition; (4) S. Talmon ("Double Readings," 171) has suggested a conflation on two readings: בימים ההם and שנים[ב]. See the similar problem in Dan 11.13.

[110] LXX omits באפי. Some commentators take באפי as belonging with v. 19 (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 289; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 452). They effectively treat all three modifiers headed by ב- as subordinate to דברתי (באפי , ובקנאתי, באש עברתי). Thus, 18bβ–19a would be translated, "in my anger (**אף**), and in my jealousy, in the fire of my fury I have spoken." This has a nice symmetry, but it overlooks the fact that the three elements are broken up by ו at the beginning of v. 19 on ובקנאתי. Thus, **אפי** belongs with the preceding clause, as indicated in MT, hence, "my wrath will be aroused with my anger."

[111] In the LXX, καὶ ὁ ζῆλός μου coordinates with ὁ θυμός μου at the end of v. 18. Thus, it seems to take ובקנאתי with the preceding clause, "my anger will arise and my jealousy."

will be a great shaking against the land of Israel, (20) and they will quake before *me*:[112] the fishes of the sea, the flying creatures of the heaven, the beasts of the field, and all creepers that creep upon the earth, and all the men who are upon the face of the earth {+}.[113] And the mountains will be thrown down, and the *mountain passes*[114] will fall, and every wall will fall to the ground {+}.[115] (21) And I will summon against him, unto all *my mountains, a sword*,"[116] – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh. "Every man's sword will be against his brother. (22) And I will execute judgment against him with pestilence and with blood, and rain torrents and hail stones; fire and brimstone I will rain upon him and *upon his hordes*[117] and upon the many people who are with him. (23) I will magnify myself, and cause myself to be hallowed {+},[118] and I will be known in the eyes of many nations. And they will know that I am Yhwh."

The destruction of Gog begins in 38.18–23. The pericope describes an enraged deity waging war on Gog with weapons only God can wield: earthquakes, landslides, pestilence, rain, hail, fire and brimstone. In a triumphant declaration, Yhwh proclaims his reasons for inciting the invasion and destroying the invaders: "I will magnify myself, and cause myself to be hallowed, and I will be known in the eyes of many nations. And they will know that I am Yhwh" (38.23). There is no concern for Israel evident

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[112] LXX reads κυρίος, shifting from divine speech back to the narrator's voice.

[113] Pap[967] adds πάσης, "all the earth."

[114] מדרגה occurs only twice in the HB, here and in Cant 2.14. The equivalencies offered in BDB ("steep places") and *HALOT* ("mountain thoroughfare") are based on Arabic *madrajat* "mountain track." All the versions offer alternatives. LXX has φαραγγες, "valleys," borrowed from 36.4, 6 (creating the impossible "valley will fall"). Targum and Peshitta render with המגדלות, "towers." Symmachus suggests νάπαις, "forests" (thinking perhaps of Isa 2), and Theodotion suggests φπαγμοι, "fences/hedges." All this variety suggests that the translators are not familiar with the term.

[115] Pap[967] adds ἵνα γνῶσιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐμὲ ἐν σοὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν, "so all the nations will know me in you in their eyes," at the end of v. 20. It is repeated from v. 16.

[116] LXX[B] reads καλέσω ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν πᾶν φόβον, "I will summon against him all fear." This suggests a graphic confusions between חרדה, "fear/anxiety" and חרב, "sword," which seems more likely than Allen's suggestion (*Ezekiel 20–48*, 201) that LXX read הרהב, "frightened," fabricating an unattested adjective. Pap[967] and LXX[A] have a double reading, πᾶν φόβον μαχαίρας, "all fear of a sword," harmonizing the readings represented by MT and LXX[B]. I take MT as original, inasmuch as GO has labored to set the oracle in הרי ישראל (38.8; 39.2, 4, 17).

[117] LXX reads καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, "and on all those with him" for ועל אגפיו. See the note on the same phrase in 38.6.

[118] LXX has ἐνδοξασθήσομαι, "I will be glorified" (ונכבדתי) after והתקדשתי. Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 426) prefers the symmetry of LXX, representing two *hithpael*s and two *niphal*s ("and I will magnify myself [HtD], and cause myself to be hallowed [HtD], and I will be glorified [N], and I will be known [N]"). Toy (*Ezekiel*, 100) thinks LXX represents a double translation of והתקדשתי.

in the announcement; she is merely the catalyst. God acts for the sake of his reputation.[119]

The story has been told before. The scene, Yhwh acting to destroy invaders before they can harm his people, is reminiscent of 2 Kgs 19.35–37 (= Isa 37.36–38), to cite just one example. But the language and the themes in 38.18–23 are drawn from a number of sources: Genesis, H, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel. Ezekiel exerts the most pervasive influence. Most of the judgment images and expressions of divine anger are characteristic of the book. So too are God's motives in v. 23, which exhibit a pronounced Ezekielian flavor.

God's rage with Gog is dramatically, and redundantly, expressed in 38.18b–19a: "My wrath (חמתי) will be aroused with my anger (באפי). For in my jealousy (קנאתי), in the fire of my fury (אש עברתי) I have spoken." The announcement seems overstuffed because the phrase "with my anger" is an addition in MT. A scribe, possibly influenced by the turn of phrase in Isa 66.15, added באפי, as attested by its absence in LXX.[120] The balance of the utterance, "in my jealousy, in the fire of my fury," is a formulation from Zephaniah's idiolect. Only Zephaniah combines the words "jealousy" (קנאה), "fire" (אש), and "fury" (עברה) as an expression of God's anger (Zeph 1.18; 3.8). This locution is significant because it points to the original inspiration for the entire pericope in 38.18–23. In Zeph 1.2–3, God swears that he will sweep the earth clean as a consequence of his wrath.

I will utterly sweep away everything
  from the face of the earth (על פני האדמה) – an utterance of Yhwh.
I will sweep away humans (אדם) and animals,
  I will sweep away the birds of the air (עוף השמים),
  and the fish of the sea (דגי הים).
I will make the wicked stumble,[121]
  I will cut off humanity
  from the face of the earth (על פני האדמה) – an utterance of Yhwh.

This announcement is followed in Zeph 1.4–6 by an indictment of Judah, followed, in turn, by a pair of exhortations (1.7–13, 14–18) to "be silent" (v. 7) and "listen" (v. 14) for the coming of the day of Yhwh, יום יהוה. These exhortations continue in the same vein: God will purge the earth of living things. The second exhortation closes in 1.18aβ–b, just as the chapter began:

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[119] On God's actions against the nations as one means of restoring his reputation and hallowing his name, compare Ezek 28.25–26; 34.28–30.

[120] Ezekiel prefers the expression "pour out (שפך) my wrath (חמתי)," which appears in 20.8, 13, 33, 34; 22.22.

[121] On this problematic line see Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, BZAW 198 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991) 58–60.

. . . on the day of Yhwh's wrath (ביום עברת יהוה)
In the fire (אש) of his jealousy (קנאתו)
the whole earth shall be consumed;
For a full, a terrible end
he will make of all the inhabitants of the earth.

The author of GO opened 38.18–23 with an echo of the phrase יום יהוה, "and it will happen in that day" (והיה ביום ההוא; 38.10, 18; 39.11), a temporal expression that is unattested in Ezekiel. The unusual turn of phrase serves to confirm the connection to Zephaniah, which was betrayed by the rare combination עברה + אש + קנאה.[122]

The author of GO, it seems, was taken with Zephaniah's portrait of divine judgment as the dissolution of creation. This motif is given particular expression in 38.19b–20:

(19b) Surely in that day there will be a great shaking against the land of Israel, (20) and they will quake before me: the fishes of the sea (ודגי הים), the birds of the air (עוף השמים), the beasts of the field,[123] and all creepers that creep upon the earth (על האדמה), and all the men (אדם) who are upon the face of the earth (על פני האדמה). And the mountains will be thrown down, and the mountain passes will fall, and every wall will fall to the ground

The language of Zephaniah is less evident in this excerpt (vv. 19b–20). The author, though drawing on Zeph 1 as his principal source in 38.18–23, incorporated elements from other thematically related sources. So, for example, the judgment is unleashed, initially, as a "great shaking." The earthquake trope appears in many judgment stories and oracles (e.g., Isa 29.6; Joel 2.10; Nah 1.5), but this particular articulation, רעש גדול, is unique to Jer 10.[124] Jeremiah 10.22 and 25 is one of the oracles of the foe from the north, on which GO is so famously dependent.[125] In v. 22, a report of a "great shaking" comes from the north. In v. 25, the commotion, revealed as "the nations that do not know you [Yhwh]," has come and gone, leaving devastation and ruin in its wake. Likewise, the announcement in 38.20a, "they will quake before me: the fishes (דג) of the sea, the flying things (עוף) of the sky, the beasts of the field (חית השדה), and all creepers (רמש) that creep upon the earth, and all the humans (אדם) who are upon the face of the earth," follows the order of living creatures found only in Gen

[122] Divine wrath is pictured elsewhere in similarly expansive terms (e.g., Joel 2; Nah 1), but GO only replicates locutions from Zeph 1. Whether or not the author of GO was dependent upon any other texts or traditions is entirely speculative.

[123] GO has וחית השדה whereas Zeph 1.2 has בהמה.

[124] The locution does appear twice in Ezek 3, but it is used in an entirely different way: for the sound that Yhwh makes when he rises up from the earth (3.12, 13).

[125] Jer 10.25 appears to continue the oracle, after a prosaic interruption in vv. 23–24. The whole of 23–25, though, is a secondary insertion derived from Prov 16.9, 20.24; Pss 6.2; 79.6–7.

1.26–28. The same sequence, absent רמש, is found in Zeph 1.2–3, which was, most likely, the original inspiration for the image. The author of GO, though, recognizing the original source of the expression, followed the list of elements in Gen 1.26–28, reinserting רמש and restoring the original order of elements.[126] By evoking the creation story, the author cast God's rage against Gog in inflated terms. When unleashed against creation, God's wrath spills over all bounds and threatens cosmic collapse.[127] The author of GO, then, uses Jer 10.22 and Gen 1.26–28 to opposite effect. That is, in Jer 10.22, shaking is an image for the vast host of Israel's enemies. In GO, it is a natural phenomenon, a judgment, inflicted *upon* Israel's enemies. So too, the list of living things in Gen 1.26–28 is a register of God's good gifts to humans, bestowed upon them to "rule over." In GO, humans have become part of the list of lowly creatures, cowering before the wrath of a jealous deity who is determined to rule over all (v. 23).

In 38.21–22 God announces a litany of further judgments against Gog:

(21) "And I will call against him, unto all my mountains, a sword," – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh. "Every man's sword will be against his brother. (22) And I will execute judgment against him with pestilence and with blood, and overflowing rain, and hail stones, fire and brimstone I will rain upon him and upon his hordes and upon the many people who are with him."

Verse 21 begins with an allusion to Ezek 6[128] and with a reference to a familiar judgment trope (possibly Deuteronomic), in which Gog's allies turn their weapons on one another.[129] In 38.22, we find three dyads: "pestilence and blood" (בדבר ובדם), "rain torrents and hail stones" (גשם שוטף ואבני אלגביש), "fire and brimstone" (אש וגפרית). All of the judgments that appear in v. 22 occur elsewhere in Ezekiel, and have been discussed already.[130] There is one exception, however. The last dyad, "fire and brimstone," can-

[126] The list of living creatures in Zeph 1.2–3 inverted the order in Gen 1.26–28 (from אדם to דג), clearly marking the citation. The author of GO reasserted the order of elements from Genesis (from דג to אדם).

[127] Regarding the locution "wall" + "fall" (חומה + נפל), taken from Ezek 13.10–11, see the related discussion in ch. 2, pp. 71–72.

[128] Regarding the trope of summoning a sword against the mountains of Israel, see above on pp. 70 and 126–27.

[129] There are no distinctive markers in 38.21 of any particular source text. The author appears to be alluding to the trope, not to some instantiation of it, like Judg 7.22; 1 Sam 14.20; Hag 2.22; Zech 14.13; 2 Chr 20.23; 1 Enoch 66.7; 100.1. Compare also the triad in Exod 32.27: איש את אחיו, איש את רעהו, איש את קרבו.

[130] Regarding "pestilence and blood" (בדבר ובדם; Ezek 5.17; 14.19; 28.23), see above pp. 70–71. For "rain torrents and hail stones" (גשם שוטף ואבני אלגביש; Ezek 13.11, 13), see also pp. 71–72. These locutions appear to have captured the author's imagination because they are rare and distinctive. They were excellent vehicles for creating continuity with the book of Ezekiel, but recognizing the source text contributes nothing to our understanding of GO.

not be found in Ezekiel. That expression, worded this way (אש + גפרית + מטר), is from Gen 19.24, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.[131] The locution is highly evocative. The connection to Gen 19 could hardly have been overlooked. I have noted above that GO is not explicit about what Gog has done to deserve annihilation. This allusion, though, *suggests* that Gog is deserving of God's wrath, even though Gog is never directly accused of any capital crime.

Finally, in the final verse of the chapter, God declares his motives: "And I will magnify myself, and I will show myself holy, and I will be known in the eyes of many nations; and they will know that I am Yhwh." Like the rest of the pericope, this utterance contains distinctive elements from other texts. The sequence "I will show myself holy, and I will be known in the eyes of many nations" conflates two locutions known only from Ezekiel.

– התקדשתי + לעיני גוים, "show myself holy" + "before eyes (of nations)": only 28.25;
– נודעתי + לעיני גוים, "be known" + "in eyes of nations": only 20.9

The relationship of Ezek 28.25–26 was discussed at length above (pp. 118–123). In Ezek 20.9, God made himself known to the nations by bringing Israel out of Egypt. In GO, he will again make himself known to the nations when he restores Israel and destroys her enemies in one great act of divine reparation.

The book of Ezekiel also contains frequent expressions of God glorifying himself or revealing his majesty. Ezekiel 38.23, though, opens with a unique expression in this vein: "I will magnify myself," והתגדלתי. The only other occurrence of a first person reflexive form of גדל occurs only in Isa 10.15.[132] GO's dependencies on Isa 10.1–19 were documented in the discussion of 38.7–16. In Isa 10.5–19, the Assyrians, imagined as an ax, magnify themselves over God, the metaphorical woodcutter. In GO, the image is reversed as God magnifies himself by "entering into judgment with" Gog and his allies. Thus, Yhwh's holiness and majesty will be made visi-

[131] The same locution appears in Ps 11.6, but it reflects a different development of the image. The psalmist envisions God testing the wicked, blending the images of raining fire and purifying metal. It reads: "Upon the wicked he will rain *coal* (read פֶּחָם with Symmachus), fire, and brimstone, and burning wind shall be the portion of their cup."

[132] Contrast the frequency of first-person reflexive forms of קדש (Exod 19.72; 29.43; Lev 10.3; 11.44; 22.32; [20.7]; Num 11.18; 20.13; Josh 3.5; 7.13; 1 Sam 16.5; 2 Sam 11.4; Isa 5.16; 30.29; 66.17; Ezek 20.41; 28.22, 25; 36.23; 38.16, 23; 39.27; 1 Chr 15.12, 14; 2 Chr 5.11; 29.5, 34; 30.3, 15, 17, 24; 31.18; 35.6) and of כבד (Exod 14.4, 17, 18; Lev 10.3; 2 Sam 6.22; Isa 49.5; Hag 1.8; Prov 12.9). The majority of these cases represent God speaking of himself.

ble to all the nations of the earth when he destroys Gog's host with his own hand.

In this pericope, 38.18–23, the author of GO constructed a new judgment oracle largely from Ezekielian expressions. This is not to say that Ezekiel was the sole inspiration for the oracle. The author derived his central motif, the overthrow of creation, from Zephaniah and wove locutions from Genesis, H, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Zephaniah into the fabric of the oracle, elevating its cosmic qualities and condemning Gog by association.

IV. Ezekiel 39.1–8: "I Will Give You to the Birds of Prey . . ."

MT and LXX^{B} place their first break in chapter 39 after v. 10. Pap^{967} breaks between 39.16 and 39.17. Only LXX^{A} includes a break after 39.8, as I have done here. I have chosen to address vv. 1–8 as a unit for two reasons. First, vv. 9–10 and 11–16 interrupt the plot of the chapter: the destruction of the host (vv. 1–8) and its consumption by wild animals (vv. 17–24; which builds upon v. 4). Second, and more important to the purpose of this study, 39.1–8, as a whole, is built upon the foundation of Isa 14. The influence of Isa 14 disappears after v. 8. Verses 9–10 and 11–16 are constructed from other texts.

(1) And you son of man, prophesy against Gog, and say, "Thus says the Lord Yhwh, 'Behold, I am against you Gog, chief prince[133] of Meshek and Tubal. (2) I will turn you around;[134] I will lead you on.[135] And I will cause you to come up from the remote reaches of the north, and *I will bring you*[136] upon the mountains of Israel. (3) And I will *smite*[137] your bow from your left hand, and *I will cause* your arrows *to fall* [138] from your right

[133] As at 38.2, LXX reads ραις as a proper name (see note there).

[134] Regarding ושבבתיך (*polal* perf 1cs שוב) see the note on 38.4.

[135] וששאתיך is a *pilpel* perfect from שאא (reduplication + quiescence of both *aleph*s), which is a *hapax*. Suggested equivalencies include the following: (1) The AV translates "the sixth part of you" (as if it were the ordinal, שש with a suffix). (2) "Lead," which is derived from the versions. E.g., LXX offers καθοδηγήσω, which is used elsewhere only in Job 12.23 for נחה, "lead," and Jer 2.6 for a *hiphil* of הלך. It may be that the translators did not know the word and chose a translation within the semantic range of שוב (cf. G. Bergstrasser, *Hebräische Grammatik* [Halle: Niemeyer, 1918–29], 111). Cooke argues for this definition based on the supposed Ethiopic cognate *sōsawa*, "proceed, walk" (Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 423).

[136] Where MT has והבאותך, "I will bring you," LXX^{A} has συνάξω σε, "I will gather you," coordinating the verse more closely with 38.4.

[137] Where MT has והכיתי, "*I will strike* your bow," LXX has ἀπολῶ, "*I will destroy* your bow," heightening the effect.

[138] V. 3b in MT reads וחציך מיד ימינך אפיל, "and I will cause your arrows to fall from your right hand." LXX created a new clause after τῆς δεξιᾶς (ימינך) by inserting καὶ and shifting the verse break between ישראל and תפול (MT, v.4). LXX then adds a 2d-person object, σε, and reads: καὶ καταβαλῶ σε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ισραηλ, "and I will cast you down upon the mountains of Israel."

hand. (4) Upon the mountains of Israel {+}[139] you will fall, you and all your hordes and peoples {+}[140] who are with you. To the birds of prey, every winged thing, and [every] beast of the field, I will give you for food.[141] (5) You will fall upon the open field; I have spoken" – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh.

(6) "And I will send a fire on *Magog*,[142] and upon the secure inhabitants[143] of the coastlands. And they will know that I am Yhwh.

(7) And I will make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel, and I will not let my holy name be polluted again.[144] And the nations will know that I am Yhwh, {+}[145] the Holy One in Israel. (8) Behold, it is coming, and {+}[146] will be done" – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh – "This is the day of which I have spoken."

The overthrow of Gog and his host, completed by the end of chapter 38, is recited again in chapter 39, with greater detail and using different images and language. The first oracle, 39.1–8, begins by reintroducing Gog in language that is a nearly identical to 38.2–4 (39.1–2). It goes on to describe the death of Gog on the mountains of Israel, adds an image of birds and beasts devouring the slain, and threatens Gog's homeland – Magog – with fire (39.3–6). Finally, the author reaffirms that Gog's destruction will force the nations to acknowledge Yhwh (38.7–8 // 38.23). This pericope, for the

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[139] The LXX translator inserted καὶ before "you will fall" (πεσῇ : : תפול), in keeping with the differences recorded in the preceding note. Before the additional καὶ, Pap[967] also added the stock phrase καὶ ου βεβηλωθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά τὸ ἅγιον, "and the holy name will not be defiled." Crane sees here a gloss from Lev 18.21, inspired by the expression "my holy name" in 39.7 (*Restoration*, 174).

[140] Following עמים Targum and Syriac add רבים, as does Pap[967] (πολλα). This is a simple harmonization with the usual expressions in Ezekiel (e.g., 3.6; 26.3; 31.6; 32.3; 38.6, 23).

[141] Some witnesses read לאכלה as a noun "for food" (so Pap[967]), others as an infinitive (rendered as a passive in LXX[B,A]; also Targum).

[142] LXX reads Γωγ for Μαγωγ. In MT, this judgment is against the homelands of Israel's enemies. In LXX, it is against the enemies who invade.

[143] For MT's ובישבי "and on the inhabitants of . . . ," LXX has κατοικηθήσονται, "they will return" (וישבו). Zimmerli suggests that the LXX translator "produced a declaration of salvation for the (hitherto unmentioned) islands" (*Ezekiel 2*, 290). LXX aligns GO with Isaiah, wherein the islands/coastlands are included in the restoration community (e.g., 11.11; 24.15; 42.4, 10, 12; 51.5; 60.9; 66.19; cf. Ps 97.1).

[144] The H of חלל means "begin." BDB claims that in this one case it means "I will no more let my holy name be profaned by . . ." This translation may be influenced by the Greek which construes אחל as a 3d-person passive (καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ ἅγιον *γνωσθήσεται* ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ μου Ισραηλ καὶ οὐ *βεβηλωθήσεται* τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ ἅγιον οὐκέτι : : "and my holy name *will be made known* [future passive] in the midst of my people Israel and my holy name *will* no longer *be profaned* [future passive].").

[145] LXX[A] and Pap[967] both add ὅ, "*the* Holy One in Israel," which is another harmonization to Isaiah's linguistic habits (so Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 418). Compare n. 143.

[146] LXX[B,A] read ἰδοὺ ἥκει καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι ἔσται, "Behold, it is coming and *you will know that* it will happen." Pap[967] does not reflect the plus in LXX[B,A].

first time in GO, asserts that the episode will have a beneficial effect on Israel as well: "and I will make known my holy name in the midst of my people Israel, and I will not let my holy name be polluted again." What polluted God's name was the Babylonian exile, which damaged Yhwh's status and reputation (20.41, 44; 36.20–23; 39.27–28; cf. 20.9, 14, 22). The destruction of Gog will redeem Yhwh's reputation with Israel and inaugurate a new age, an age in which exile will never again become necessary.

The principal images in the present oracle (39.1–8) were drawn from Isa 14.[147] GO and Isa 14.4b–21 share a whole constellation of motifs. Isaiah 14, a taunt against the king of Babylon, describes an "oppressor" (נגש, v. 4) who devises a plan to elevate himself above God (Isa 14.13–14 // Ezek 38.10). Having tyrannized the whole earth (Isa 14.6–12, 16, 21b) and left their cities in ruins (Isa 14.17 // Ezek 38.8, 12), he is slain and left unburied on the battlefield (Isa 14.19–20 // Ezek 39.4–5).[148] These topoi are clearly present in 39.3–6, as is the phrase "the remote parts of the north," ירכתי צפון, the desired seat of the enemy in Isa 14 and his true seat in GO (Isa 14.13; Ezek 38.6, 15; 39.2). The designation "north" is evocative of the foe-from-the-north tradition in Jeremiah and Joel (as we have already seen), but this particular turn of phrase ירכתי צפון only occurs in GO, Isa 14.13, and Ps 48.3.[149] It effectively directs the attention of the reader of GO to Isa 14, from which it is then easy to observe further thematic parallels between the two texts.[150] It is notable that the oracle in Isa 14.4b–21

[147] The whole of 39.1–2 is a truncated version of 38.1–8. See the discussion of 38.1–6 for information on Gog's name and title, his allies' names, and "mountains of Israel."

[148] Isa 14.21a reads "prepare for his sons a place of slaughter," which will be taken up in Ezek 39.11. A number of critics make much of the reference to "my mountains" (הרי) in Isa 14.25 (e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 300), but the linguistic and thematic parallels between Isa 14 and GO fade rapidly after Isa 14.21.

[149] Ps 48.3 is not directly relevant. It refers to "Mount Zion in the far north." It does, however, serve to reaffirm the ahistorical quality of Gog. He should not be related to a known historical enemy of Israel (or Yehud, or Judah) from the north, any more than Zion should be identified with a mountain in the "far reaches of the north." The description of Gog coming from the north is a trope, nothing more (see next note). In Ezekiel as a whole, north, צפון, represents the direction from which invaders descend (e.g., 26.7; 32.30; cf.: Jer 4.6) or the direction of the seat of the deity (e.g., 1.4; 44.4). The two notions are conflated in Ezek 9.2 where God summons his פקדות from the north to slay the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

[150] To give the future conflict global scope, the author of the Gog oracles drew upon mythic traditions from the past. This depiction of the future in terms of the mythic past is a common trait of eschatological and apocalyptic texts. The reason for this is captured by Ahroni: because it lies in the future, the depiction of "the ideal age was divorced from any reference to a definite person or to a definite historical situation" ("Gog Prophecy," 20). As a result, eschatological texts often use attributes of the murky past to depict the murky future. In particular, GO appeals to the ancient motifs of the *Völkersturm* and the divine warrior.

never names the "oppressor." He is only identified as the king of Babylon in the narrative prologue to the oracle (vv. 3–4a). It is widely accepted that

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The *Völkersturm* is the ancient tradition of many nations attacking Jerusalem. This theme appears most commonly in the Psalms, where Yhwh delivers Jerusalem from a coordinated attack by a confederacy of kings and nations (Pss 2.1–5; 46; 48; 75 [cf. 45.5; 47.3; 110.1–5]). In the Psalter, the motif lacks temporal or historical references and is used to reflect the sovereignty and incomparability of Yhwh and the inviolability of Zion. In eschatological and apocalyptic texts the *Völkersturm* occurs at the inauguration of the eschatological age (Isa 27.2–13; Ezek 38–39; Joel 4.9–21; Obad 15; Zeph 1.14–18; Zech 12.1–9; 14.1–5, 12–15; 2 Esdras 13.31–34; Rev 20.7–10). In every case, the *Völkersturm* is combined with the motif of Yhwh as divine warrior. A number of common elements from this motif appear prominently in GO. Nature is used to destroy the enemy who is showered with landslides, rain torrents, and hailstones (38.20, 22 // Josh 10.10–11; 1 Sam 7.10–11 [Judg 5.20–21]). The invaders turn on one another, increasing the slaughter (38.21 // Judg 7.22; 1 Sam 14.20; Zech 14.13; Rev 6.3–4; 1 Enoch 100.1–2), and the beasts of the field are sated and intoxicated by the slain and their blood (39.19–20 // Isa 34.5–7; 63.1–6; Joel 4.13; Rev 14.19–20; 19.15).

In some cases, GO appeals to a particular instantiation of some elements from the *Völkersturm* and divine warrior traditions, as when the author depends upon Isa 34.5–7 to describe animals feasting on Gog's host (39.19–20 // Isa 34.5–7). In other cases, the author appeals to a trope that appears in many texts that reflect the tradition, as when Gog's allies turn on one another (38.21 // Judg 7.22; 1 Sam 14.20; Zech 14.13; Rev 6.3–4; 1 Enoch 100.1–2). In other words, it is not sufficient to paint with a broad brush and assert that GO, as a whole, depends upon the *Völkersturm* and divine warrior traditions, as if they had some ideal shape or content. The reuse of individual elements, tropes, or texts from these traditions should be examined in their own right, to map the contours of GO's reuse with care and precision. Thus, each detail from the *Völkersturm* and divine warrior traditions will be addressed below where they appear in GO. (On these traditions in GO, see Dürr, *Die Stellung*, 65, 90–100; F. M. Cross, "A Note on the Study of Apocalyptic Origins," chapter in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], 343–48; P. D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973]; Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 459–61; S. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 89–90. See also Hanns-Martin Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker: Zur Vorgeschichte von Sach 12,1–8 und 14,1–5* [WMANT 27; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968], 126–30.)

On a related note, several interpreters view GO as a recapitulation of the *Chaoskampf* myth. "Gog has become the representative of the cosmic powers of the returned chaos which Yhwh destroys in the latter days, powers which cannot be described as historical" (Childs, "Enemy from the North," 196; see also, A. Baumann, "חמה," *TDOT* III: 416–17; S. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 92–93). This is the premise of Fitzpatrick's study, *The Disarmament of God*. Fitzpatrick's argument hangs heavily on the appearance of particular vocabulary words in GO, which are understood as signal-markers of the chaos myth (especially, המון, "multitude," and רעש, "earthquake"). Regardless of the virtues of this lexical argument, Fitzpatrick does not speak to the fact that GO derived these terms from other biblical texts, and may well have done so without an awareness of their prior use as registers of a myth. (חמון also occurs in Ezek 5.7; 7.11, 12, 13, 14; 23.42; 26.13; 29.19; 30.4, 10, 15; 31.2, 18; 32.12, 16, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32; 39.11; and 55x outside of Ezekiel. רעש occurs in Ezek 3.12, 13; 12.18; 37.7; and 11x outside of Ezekiel.)

the oracle in Isa 14 originally announced judgment on Assyria.[151] Isaiah, deeming the king of Assyria and the king of Babylon to be typologically aligned, reapplied the oracle to the king of Babylon.[152] The author of GO, in turn, appropriated the oracle for his own purposes, using it to paint a picture of a future invading king: Gog of Magog.[153] There is a clear license to make this hermeneutical move within Isa 14 itself. In Isa 14.26–27, God's design for Assyria/Babylon is extended to all nations:

> This is the plan that is planned
> concerning *the whole earth*;
> and this is the hand that is stretched out
> over *all the nations*.
> For Yhwh of hosts has planned,
> and who will annul it?
> His hand is stretched out,
> and who will turn it back?[154]

Not content to rely solely upon Isa 14, the author of GO filled out the judgment scene with locutions from two other texts describing the over-

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[151] As was first argued by H. L. Ginsberg, "Reflexes of Sargon in Isaiah after 715 B.CE," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 47–53; see the comments in Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (SBT Second Series 3; London: SCM, 1967), 38–42; Hans Wildeberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, trans. Thomas Trapp (CC; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 53–56; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 285–87; and esp. R. Clements, "Isaiah 14,22–27: A Critical Passage Reconsidered," in *The Book of Isaiah/Le Livre D'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures Unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* (ed. J. Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 253–62.

[152] See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 372–79, and Clements, "Isaiah 14,22–27," 255–59.

[153] Not only is the oppressor is unnamed, but v. 5 cites certain "evil ones" and "rulers" (משלים, רשעים). The phrases in which they appear are ambiguous (שבט משלים, מטה רשעים), but can be construed as a recognition of subject leaders, who are under the hegemony of the oppressor. If read in this way, it would add another correspondence between the oppressor and Gog. Very few commentators attempt any explanation of these phrases in Isa 14. One exception is Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39: A Commentary* (trans. R. A. Wilson; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 34.

[154] D. A. Teeter has shown that Isa 14.4b–27 is part of a sustained argument in Isaiah, in which Isa 2 establishes a principle (God will humble all high and haughty things) and Isa 14 offers Assyria and Babylon as examples of this principle at work ("Isaiah and the King of As/Syria in Daniel's Final Vision: On the Rhetoric of Inner-Scribal Allusion and the Hermeneutics of 'Mantological Exegesis'," in *No One Spoke Ill of Him: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. Kelley Coblentz Bautch, Eric Mason, Samuel Thomas, et al.; JSJSup; Leiden: Brill, 2011), forthcoming. The author of GO interprets Isa 14 in the same way: as one of many examples of God's work in history. Similarly, R. Clements has argued for a three-fold development in Isa 1–39: (1) a sustained anti-Assyrian redaction; (2) an extension of these same oracles to include Babylon; and (3) an apocalyptic-messianic redaction with a "universal time reference" ("Isaiah 14,22–27," 256).

throw of powerful kings. The line "to the birds of prey, every flying thing, and beast of the field I will give you for food" (39.4b) was borrowed from the oracle against Pharaoh in Ezek 29: לחית הארץ ולעוף השמים נתתיך לאכלה (29.5).[155] It reappears, in an abbreviated form, in 39.17.[156] The line is a deliberate inversion of Gen 9.2–3:

> The fear and dread of you shall rest on every animal of the earth, and on every bird of the air, on everything that creeps on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered. Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you; and just as I gave you the green plants, I give you everything.[157]

Also, the judgment against the land of Magog in 39.6, "I will send fire upon Magog" (שלחתי אש ב-), was borrowed from Amos; it is a basic element of that prophet's idiolect. Amos used the same clause in his announcements of judgment against Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Moab, and Judah (1.4, 7, 10, 12; 2.2, 5). No other prophet used this locution.

In vv. 7–8, the author concluded the pericope with a statement of Yhwh's intentions:

> (7) And I will make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel, and I will not let my holy name be polluted again. And the nations will know that I am Yhwh, Holy One in Israel. (8) Behold, it is coming, and will be done" – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh – "This is the day of which I have spoken."

Yhwh's primary concern, throughout this episode, is to make his holy name (שם קדש) known, both in Israel and among the nations. Apparently, this will repair his name which has been defiled (חלל) and do so in such a way that it will never be polluted again (7aβ). The destruction of Gog,

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[155] Ezek 29.5 adapted the line from Deut 28.26: והיתה נבלתך למאכל לכל עוף השמים ולבהמת הארץ. For more on the reuse of Ezek 29 in GO see *Excursus B*, pp. 132–3.

[156] The author of GO has a habit of introducing a topic that is only explained or expanded upon in a subsequent pericope. Ezek 39.12–13 contains two important structural markers. They introduce the topics of "cleansing the land" (טהר את ארץ; v. 12b) and God "gaining glory" for himself (הכבדי; v. 13b). These two topics are fleshed out in two of the following pericopae: 39.14–16, which is summed up by the clause "they will cleanse the land" (טהרו הארץ; v. 16b); and 39.21–29, which is introduced by "I will set my glory (כבדי) on the nations" (v. 21a). In between these two pericopae stands 39.17–20, the sacral feast, which resumes the threat in 39.4: עיט צפור כל כנף וחית שדה (v. 4) // צפור כל כנף ולכל חית השדה (v. 17). In light of this technique, Francesca Stavrakopoulou's interpretation of Ezek 39 appears unconvincing. She assumes that 39.17–20 represents the exhumation of Gog's host, because Gog was buried in 39.11–13 ("Gog's Grave and the Use and Abuse of Corpses in Ezekiel 39:11–20," *JBL* 129/1 [2010]: 67–84).

[157] Later in the chapter (39.17–20) the author returns to the subject of animals eating Gog's host. In those verses, the author includes an allusion to dietary law (Lev 7.23–27). The combination of the two subjects may also have been inspired by Gen 9, where the gift of animals for food is followed by the injunction "only, you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood" (v. 4).

then, redresses the harm done to God's name and inaugurates a time when it will never again be defiled.[158]

God's holy name and profaning his name are common tropes in the H code (Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; 22.2, 23) and in Ezekiel (20.9, 14, 22, 39; 36.20, 21, 22; 39.7, 25; 43.7, 8).[159] In H, God's name is defiled when the people breach the divine statues and judgments. In Ezekiel too, all of Israel's past errors are portrayed as having defiled God's name "before the nations" (ch. 20). Ezekiel goes on to argue that by her behavior in exile Israel has continued to defile his name "among the nations" (ch. 36). The author of GO, borrowing the theme as it was developed in H and Ezekiel, uses it in a related way. At the end of GO, it becomes apparent that Yhwh's name was defiled (חלל) by the exile itself, not just the people's behavior in exile. The exile damaged God's reputation as patron of Israel and sovereign of the universe. The restoration of Israel and destruction of her foes is the only permanent cure for this metaphysical blemish.[160] To stress Israel's inclusion within God's efforts to rehabilitate his reputation, the author of GO designates Yhwh as קדוש בישראל, "Holy One in Israel" (39.7). This title is reminiscent of the common designation from Isaiah "Holy One *of* Israel."[161] As chapter 39 progresses, it will be increasingly colored by Isaianic locutions, most especially when the themes of 39.7–8 reemerge in vv. 21–29.[162]

In sum, the author of GO began chapter 39 by continuing a practice of reuse that was apparent from the outset of chapter 38. That is, the author drew upon one or two antecedent texts for the signature themes or images in the new oracle but articulated the prophecy using individual phases and clauses drawn from several additional sources.

Excursus C: The Foe from the North in Isaiah 14 and Jeremiah 6

Many critics have suggested that GO, in general, and the notion that Gog is from ירכתי צפון, in particular, are dependent upon Jeremiah, especially the

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[158] How and why the name will never again be defiled is the subject of 39.21–29.

[159] See also, Jer 34.16; Amos 2.7. Alternations on this phrase, in the second and third persons ("your holy name"; "his holy name"), also recur in the cult language of Psalms and Chronicles.

[160] This will be fully unfolded at 39.21–29, below.

[161] קדוש ישראל (Isa 1.4; 5.19, 24; 10.20; 12.6; 17.7; 29.19; 30.11, 12, 15; 31.1; 37.23 [= 2 Kgs 19.22]; 41.14, 16, 20; 43.3, 14; 45.11; 47.4; 48.17; 49.7; 54.5; 55.5; 60.9, 14; also, Jer 50.29; 51.5; Pss 71.27; 78.41; 89.19 [cf. Joel 2.27])

[162] The dependence of GO on Ezekiel's restoration oracles (esp. 11.14–21; 16.53–63; 20.40–44; 34.11–22; 34.25–32; 36.1–15; 37.15–23) will also become more pronounced as GO winds to a finish and the status of Israel, following the invasion, comes into sharper focus (39.21–29).

older oracles in chapters 4–6.[163] Jeremiah 6.22–23 features prominently in this proposal:

(6) Thus says Yhwh: See, a people is coming (בוא) from the land of the north (צפון מארץ), a great nation is stirring from the farthest parts of the earth. (23) They grasp the bow (קשת) and the javelin, they are cruel and have no mercy, their sound is like the roaring sea; they ride on horses (סוסים), equipped like a warrior for battle, against you, O daughter Zion!"

I find the links to Isa 14.4b–21 (particularly in this pericope, 39.1–8) to be much stronger than those to Jer 6. (1) Two of the parallel locutions between Jer 6.22–23 and GO are too common to be used as evidence for a deliberate link (בוא, קשת). (2) The locution מארץ צפון is an inexact parallel to GO's ירכתי צפון (Ezek 38.6, 15; 39.2). (3) The last parallel locution, סוסים, has a more exact and likely source in Ezekiel itself. סוסים + פרשים + קהל + צפון all appear together in 26.7 and 38.4–6. (4) The locution ירכתי צפון is very rare in the HB, appearing only in Isa 14.13 and GO (38.6, 15; 39.2). (5) Finally, the author of GO goes to great lengths to avoid any hint of Zion theology (or a resurgence of Zion theology). Though describing a global invasion of Israel, the author never even admits to the existence of Jerusalem. He refers, always, to "the mountain*s* (pl.) of Israel" or "naval of the earth." This effort would be undone if the author referred too explicitly to Jer 6.22–23.

This is not to say that the author was not familiar with Jer 4–6, nor even that the author did not anticipate that readers would draw lines of connection between GO and Jer 6, without making them explicit. It is only to say that the author of GO borrowed language and imagery from Isa 14.4b–21, particularly in the construction of 39.1–8, but there is not sufficient linguistic evidence to argue the same for Jer 4–6.

V. Ezekiel 39.9–16: "They Will Plunder Those Who Plundered Them . . ."

As was noted in 39.1–8, the manuscript tradition is a tangle of choices regarding the location of the first subdivision in chapter 39. Contrariwise, there is complete unanimity among the principal witnesses that a major division falls between verses 16 and 17. The plundering of Gog's host and burial of the slain are the topics of vv. 9–10 and 11–16, respectively. In v. 17, the author will return to the subject of Gog's death, shading it with greater detail, before turning his attention to subsequent effects on Israel.

(9) "And the inhabitants of the cities of Israel will go forth, *and they will burn, and they will build fires*[164] with the war supplies, both the shield and *the mantlet*,[165] with the bow

[163] Hölscher, *Hesekiel*, 180–83; Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 132–39; Lutz, *Jahwe*, 125–30; Pohlmann, *Hezekiel/Ezechiel Kapitel 20–48*, 512; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 299–300, 307–8.

and with the arrows, and with the hand-staves, and with the spear, and with them they will build fire for seven years. (10) And they will not take wood from the field, nor cut from the forests, for with the war supplies they will build fire, and they will spoil their spoilers, and rob their robbers" – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh.

(11) "And it will happen in that day, that I will give unto Gog a *place there*,[166] a grave in Israel, the valley of the travelers[167] east of the sea. And *it*[168] *will stop the travelers* (?),[169] and they will bury Gog there and all his crowd, and they will call it '*the valley of Hamon-gog*.'[170] (12) And the house of Israel will bury them, in order to cleanse the land – seven

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[164] For MT's ובערו והשיקו, LXX has καὶ καύσουσιν, "and burn." LXX is either missing a verb (so Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 427–28) or, more likely, telescoping the two verbs into one (so Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 291).

[165] For ומגן וצנה, "shield and mantlet," LXX reads πέλταις καὶ κοντοῖς, "shield and spear" (ובחן, or וברמח, or ובחנית), which is more symmetrical. Perhaps the translator did not know the rare term צנה and supplied the anticipated word.

[166] For מקום־שָׁם, "place there," LXX, Cairo Geniza, and Vulgate read מקום־שֵׁם, "place of fame," in keeping with v. 13. This expression is found nowhere else in the HB. GKC §130d suggests this may be a collocation of person, thing or material (like ככרים כסף, "two talents [of] silver") but admits the text is in doubt. There are good reasons to retain the MT, which are described in the following pages.

[167] The expression גי העברים bothers many commentators because it does not seem to cohere with 39.14–15. Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 428), BDB (717b; following Michaelis, Hitzig, and Bertholet), Elliger (BHS), and Allen (*Ezekiel 20–48*, 201) follow the Coptic by repointing to הָעֲבָרִים, "Abarim." Abarim occurs twice in the HB: once as a locale east of Galilee (Jer 22.20), and again for one east of the Dead Sea (Num 27.12). These are both impossible, since 38.11–13 is clear that the valley in view here is located within the land of Israel. Eichrodt waves away the difficulty, theorizing that the name may refer to some lost "legendary item in the Gog-tradition" (528). More plausibly, Zimmerli suggests that it be treated as a proper name, "Oberim valley" (*Ezekiel 2*, 292, 317). LXX reflects the pointing of MT with its τῶν ἐπελθόντων, "the ones coming," which is used in 1 Sam 30.23 for a hostile army. See pp. 184–85.

[168] The antecedent of היא is a matter of considerable debate. "Valleys" is masculine plural; "grave" is masculine singular; "place" is masculine singular; "Gog" is masculine singular. "Israel" (vv. 9, 11) normally takes masculine pronouns but can also take feminine pronouns (*HALOT* 2: 442). This appears to be how LXX understands the sense of the clause: καὶ περιοικοδομήσουσιν τὸ περιστόμιον τῆς θάπαγγος, "and they will wall the edge of the valley." Considering the efforts in vv. 12–13 to clarify who is burying the people, I believe that LXX construes the grammar correctly as it stands (the antecedent of היא is "Israel"). Note the shift to 3d-person plural in MT, to assist the reader in navigating the syntax (supported by LXX of v. 16). See also the discussion below.

[169] Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 428) and Elliger (BHS) suggested an original וחסמו את הגיא, which corresponds with LXX but is not necessary. Toy (*Ezekiel*, 101) observes that חסם is rare, appearing only here and in Deut 25.4 (for muzzling an ox). He concludes the clause is "deformed beyond recognition." Alternatively, Bauer-Leander (72*v'*) suggested that גי is a variant spelling of גֵּיא ("valley," feminine singular), in which case גי would be the antecedent of היא. But this results in the valley blocking the travelers (?).

[170] For MT's וקראו גיא המון גוג, "and they will call it 'the valley of Hamon-gog,'" LXX transliterates גיא and takes the name המון as the noun meaning "tumult, army, mob": καὶ κληθήσεται τὸ γαι τὸ πολυάνδιον τοῦ Γωγ, "and it will be called the Gai,

months. (13) And all the people of the land will *bury* {+}.[171] And it will be their reputation: the day when I gain glory for myself" – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh.

(14) "And men of continual employment[172] will divide, the ones passing through the land, the ones burying, {*that is, the travelers,*}[173] the ones remaining upon the face of land, in order to cleanse it. At the end of seven months {+}[174] they will search, (15) and {*the travelers*}[175] will pass through the land. When one sees a human bone, he will set up beside it a signpost, until the undertakers bury it in *the valley of Hamon-gog*.[176] (16) And also the name of the city will be *Hamonah*.[177] And they will cleanse the land.

Ezekiel 39.9–16 interrupts the plot of the chapter. In 39.1–8, the prophet foretells the death of Gog and his host, who will be devoured by a vast assembly of wild animals. In 39.17–24, God summons the wild animals to his table, an event which is described in some detail. In between these two scenes is an extended interlude, narrating the plundering of Gog's host (39.9–10) and the repurification of the land. The repurification can only be effected by interring all the dead from Gog's host, a process that lasts seven months (39.11–14a). The process is not complete, though, until a second meticulous search is completed, to locate and dispose of any desiccated human remains that might have been overlooked (39.14b–15). All

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the mass grave of Gog" (compare the use of πολυάνδριος in 4 Macc 15.20 and Jer 2.23).

[171] LXX supplies the object "bury *them*," αὐτούς, in keeping with v. 12.

[172] Regarding the semantics of אנשי תמיד, "men permanently employed," compare the עולם תמיד, "perpetual burnt offering" in Ezek 46.15. This suggests that אנשי תמיד is not meant to indicate that the occupation of undertaker is a permanent one. Rather, the men were employed without break or pause in the task of interring the dead.

[173] עברים is a plus in MT (reflected only in Targum), here and in v. 15. Crane suggests that the purpose of the MT pluses is "to emphasize that the burial will be done by 'travelers', and not by the people of Israel, lest they are defiled by touching the dead" (*Restoration*, 183). On the use of the definite object marker as a marker of scribal glosses, see Fishbane, *Interpretation*, 44–51. See also *Excursus E*.

[174] MT envisions a two-stage process. Seven months of burial were followed by (מקצה) a rigorous search for any desiccated remains that had been overlooked. LXX interprets the whole process as lasting seven months, ". . . to cleanse it within seven months and they will search," as indicated by the addition of καὶ (καθαρίσαι αὐτὴν μετὰ τὴν ἑπτάμηνον καὶ ἐκζητήσουσιν).

[175] "The travelers," עברים, is absent in LXX and Syriac. It is a scribal gloss (per Fishbane, *Interpretation*, 48–51) explaining the identity of "those remaining on the face of the ground," את הנותרים על פני האדמה (i.e., the dead of Gog's army). See n. 173.

[176] See n. 167.

[177] LXX has "the name of the city will be 'Mass-grave' (Πολυάνδριον)" per vv. 11 and 15. Elliger (BHS), Toy (*Ezekiel*, 101), and Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 293) delete the whole clause וגם שם עיר המונה. Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 428–29) emends to וגמר המונו, "and his multitude is ended." Block (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 471–72) understands the clause as parenthetical, appealing to F. I. Anderson (*The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* [The Hague: Mouton, 1974], 45).

this disruption and labor is the unanticipated cost of "the day when I [Yhwh] gain glory for myself" (39.13).

As has been the case for every pericope to this point, the author fashioned these verses under the inspiration of a specific precursor text, in this case Jer 7.30–34. Many of the locutions and tropes from Jer 7.30–34 have been semantically inverted in GO (corresponding locutions underlined):

JEREMIAH 7.30–34	GO
(30) "For the people of Judah have done <u>evil in my sight</u>," says Yhwh. "They have placed their abominations in the house that is called by <u>my name</u>, <u>defiling it</u>.	– הרע עיני, "evil in my sight" // קדש (1st pers. refl.) + (הם)לפני עיני, "make myself holy in (their) sight" (38.16, 23; 39.27) – שמי, "my name" // שם קודשי , "my holy name" (39.7, 25) – טמא, "defile" // טהר, "cleanse" (39.12, 14, 16)
(31) And they go on building the high place of Tophet,[178] which is in <u>the valley of the son of Hinnom</u>, in order to burn their sons and their daughters <u>in the fire</u>, which I neither commanded, nor <u>did it enter my mind</u>.	– גיא בן ההם, "valley of the son of Hinnom" // גיא המום(־גוג), "valley of Hamon(-Gog) (39.11, 15, 16) – באש, "with fire" // אש(ב), (with) fire" (38.19; 39.6) – עלתה על לבי , "enter my mind" // על לבבך + עלה, "enter your mind" (38.10)
(32) Therefore, the <u>days are surely coming</u>," says Yhwh, "when <u>it will no more be called</u> Tophet, or <u>the valley of the son of Hinnom</u>, but the valley of Slaughter: for they will bury in Tophet until <u>there is</u> no more <u>place</u>.	– הנה ימים באים, "behold days are coming" // הנה באה…הוא היום, "behold it is coming … the day" (39.8)[179] – לא יאמר עוד, "it (the valley) will not be called" // קראו גיא, "they will call the valley" (39.11)

[178] הַתֹּפֶת, "the fire-pit/hearth," is usually transliterated as a proper name, "Tophet" (so LXX, Ταφεθ/ Θαφεθ; cf. 2 Kgs 23.10; Isa 30.33; Jer 19.6–14). The name is indicative of what the place is known for, namely human burnt offerings. So too, הֲמוֹן, "crowd/ tumult," is indicative of what the place is known for, the burial site of Gog's "crowd" (המונה, 39.11).

[179] The phrase הנה ימים באים, "behold days are coming," is a stock item in Jeremiah, occurring fifteen times. As Holladay observes, "[i]t refers to the transformation of present conditions by the events of a new era – not that it is eschatological, but simply that there will be a profound reversal in the near future" (*Jeremiah 1*, 268–69). The phrase has a close parallel in GO, in 39.8. The exact expression in 39.8, באה . . . הוא היום הנה is patterned on Ezek 21.12, and echoes *yôm Yhwh* language (הוא היום), which colors the GO expression with eschatological tones. This additional link suggests that Jer 7 was among the texts that the author of GO read and interpreted as predictive of Gog's future invasion (38.17; 39.8).

JEREMIAH 7.30–34	GO
	– גיא בן ההם, "valley of the son of Hinnom" // גיא המום(־גוג), "valley of Hamon(-Gog) (39.11, 15, 16)
	– קברו + אין מקום, "bury … until there is no place" // מקום שם קבר, "(give to him) a place there, a grave" (39.11)
(33) The corpses of this people will be food for the birds of the air, and for the animals of the earth; and no one will frighten them away.	– למאכל לעוף השמים ולבהמת הארץ, "be food for the birds of the air, and for the animals of the earth" // לעיט צפור כל כנף וחית השדה נתתיך לאכלה, "to the birds of prey, every winged thing, and beast of the field, I will give you for food (39.4)
(34) And I will bring to an end the sound of mirth and gladness, the voice of the bride and bridegroom in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem; for the land shall become a ruin."	– אין מחריד, "no one will frighten (them)" // אין מחריד, "no one will frighten (them)" (39.26)
	– לחרבה תהיה הארץ, "the land will be a ruin" // חרבה/ות, "ruin(s)" (38.8, 12)

Jeremiah 7.30–34 and GO share a remarkable array of locutions and themes regarding defiling the land, burning and death in the valley, renaming the valley, human sacrifice, corpses as food for the wild animals, interring corpses in the valley, burial as land-allotment, and the land as a ruin. This nexus of topoi, which are found as a set only in Jer 7.30–34 and Ezek 39, forges the link between the two texts. A unique verbal link is also created by the pun between "the valley of Hinnom" (הִנֹּם; Jer 7.31, 32 [2 Kgs 23.10]) and "the valley of Hamon" (הֲמוֹן; Ezek 39.11b [2x], 15b, 16b).[180] The pun serves to point out the inversion: in the valley Hinnom, the Israelites slaughtered their children as sacrifices to pagan deities; in the valley of Hamon, God slaughtered Gog's host and gave it as a sacrificial feast to the beasts of the field.[181]

As we have come to expect, the author fashioned his own verses by reusing locutions and additional elements from a variety of other sources, rather than depending exclusively upon the expressions and themes of the governing precursor text (Jer 7.30–34). In the opening scene (vv. 9–10),

[180] So Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 316–17.

[181] For details on human sacrifice in ancient Israel see Paul G. Mosca, "Child Sacrifice in Canaanite and Israelite Religion: A Study in *Mulk* and *mlk*" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1975). More generally, see the gorgeously composed discussion in Jon Levenson's, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 3–24, and the recent chapter on the state of the discussion by Ed Noort, "Child Sacrifice in Ancient Israel: The *Status Quaestionis*" in *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, ed. Jan Bremmer (Studies in the History and Anthropology of Religion 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 103–25.

the inhabitants of the land spill out of their towns to collect the war gear of Gog's host for use as firewood (39.9–10). The motif of burning weapons, as a symbol of the end of warfare on earth, is well known, especially from the messianic hymn in Isa 9 and the cosmic hymn in Ps 46.

> For all the boots of the tramping warriors
> and all the garments rolled in blood
> will be burned as fuel for the fire. (Isa 9.5)

> Come, behold the works of Yhwh,
> who made desolate places on the earth.
> He makes wars cease to the end of the earth;
> he breaks the bow, and shatters the spear;
> he burns the shields with fire. (Ps 46.9–10)

The author of GO, in this case, chose to express the motif in his own language, not in the language of any precursor text, like Isa 9.5 or Ps 46.9–10. It is notable that 39.9–10 has the lowest density of borrowed locutions in all of GO. This is not to say that 39.9–10 is devoid of reused language. The author supplemented vv. 9–10 with two borrowed locutions. The word-pair "mantlet and shield" (צנה ומגן) was derived from Ezek 23.24, and the dyad "to take spoil" and "to seize plunder" (ולבז בז + לשל שלל) was taken from Isa 10.6 (// Ezek 29.19).[182] Since both have appeared previously, the first in 38.4 and the second in 38.12–13, they contribute nothing new to the composition as a whole. They do serve, nonetheless, to create cohesion between this pericope and the broader composition.

In the next scene (39.11–16), the Israelites are given the task of interring the slain, a task that will take seven months to complete. The episode is unique, unknown outside of GO. Despite this, the author of GO again described the scene using language influenced by other scriptural texts. The threat, "I will give to Gog a place there," אתן לגוג מקום שם (39.11), is a parody of Deuteronomic land-allotment language (Deut 26.9; Judg 20.36; 1 Sam 27.5–6; Jer 7.14, 32). It is particularly reminiscent of the language used for allotments made to those who seek asylum in a city of refuge. Joshua 20.2–4 (// Exod 21.13) reads as follows:

> (2) Say to the Israelites, "Appoint for yourselves cities of refuge, of which I spoke to you through Moses, (3) so that anyone who kills a person inadvertently or by mistake may flee there. They shall be for you a refuge from the avenger of blood. (4) The killer shall flee to one of these cities and shall stand at the entrance of the gate of the city, and ex-

[182] See the comments above on *Ezekiel 38.7–16*. Sweeney has suggested that the span of seven years (39.9) was drawn from the seven-year sabbatical cycle in Exod 23.10–11 and Lev 25.1–7 ("The Priesthood and Protoapocalyptic Reading," 171). This is certainly possible and accords with the author's habits of allusion. It is difficult to verify though, since the author of GO is fond of sets of seven and may have selected the number for reasons of symmetry (see n. 19 above).

plain the case to the elders of that city; then they will take the fugitive into the city, and they will give to him a place (ונתנו לו מקום), and he will remain with them.

The author of GO, probably derived the parody, in the first instance, from Jer 7.32, in which there will be "no place" (מאין מקום) left for graves in the valley of Hinnom when God kills his people, Israel, for sacrificing their children.[183] (Note the similar taunts in Isa 14.21a, Ezek 6.13, and Ezek 26.20.) In GO, Gog, who intended to kill many, will be granted a permanent place within the land. Gog's allotment, though, will be a mass grave. He will be executed, killed for his violent intentions. The manslayer, too, is granted an allotment, a home or steading. That person, however, will be preserved because he or she had no malicious intention.[184]

Beyond the level of individual locutions, the whole of 39.11–16 is predicated upon Priestly notions about the defiling effects of corpses on the land, as expressed in texts like Lev 17.15–16, 22.4, and Num 35.33–34.[185] According to Lev 18.25–28, the Canaanites defiled themselves through impure sexual practices. As a result, the land itself was defiled. The land "vomited out its inhabitants" (v. 25), like a person who ingested something putrid. Likewise, according to Deut 21.22–23 corpses of those who have been executed for capital crimes must be interred before dawn, lest the curse that inheres to the body (moral impurity) defile the land too. This notion, that human sin defiles not only persons but the land itself, is not operative in GO.[186] Rather, GO has in view the defiling effect of corpses, a type of ritual impurity which can be remedied by ritual means. In Lev 17.15–16, ingesting any animal found dead, renders the eater impure: "All persons, whether citizens or aliens, who eat a carcass or an animal torn by wild animals, will wash their clothes, and bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the evening; then they shall be clean. But if they do not wash themselves or bathe their body, they shall bear their guilt." According to Lev 22.4, even touching a corpse renders one unclean.[187] Numbers

[183] Contra Holladay who argues that in the case of Jer 7.32, מקום means "cultic place" (*Jeremiah 2*, 269).

[184] The obscure line "it will stop the travelers" (39.11) may be another allusion, in this case to Joel 4.17 (Eng 3.17), which says regarding the restored Jerusalem, "strangers shall never again travel through it."

[185] On the priestly qualities of the pericope, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 318; Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 474.

[186] The H code avoids any claim that the land is intrinsically pure or holy. Like human persons, the land can alternate between purity and impurity without action or intent (see comments in Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, [AB 3a; New York: Doubleday, 2000], 1572–74).

[187] See the related laws and stories in Lev 5.2; 21.11; 22.4; Num 5.1–2; 6.6–12; 9.6–11; 19.11–22; 31.19–20; 2 Kgs 23.6, 20.

19.16–18 extends this even to touching a bone (עֶצֶם) or a grave (קֶבֶר).[188] In effect, corpses, whether human or animal, are impure and their impurity is contagious to any who touch them or the ground above them. According to GO, this is a threat not only to the inhabitants of the land but also to the land itself, which is defiled by the presence of the corpses.

The author of GO, at this point, has expanded upon Deuteronomic and Priestly law. Based on the related notions that corpses are intrinsically unclean (H, P) and that corpses of the executed, in particular, can defile the land (D), he asserts that the mass slaughter of Gog's host will defile the land. In other words, based on a more severe case (that moral impurity can inhere to a body even after execution and defile the land) he argues for a lesser condition as well (the war-dead can render the land ritually impure).[189] That he views the impurity as ritual defilement, rather than moral, is indicated by the fact that the land can be cleansed, simply by interring all the human remains. Neither sacrifice nor other priestly services are stipulated (as in Deut 21.22–23).[190] In the following verses, 39.17–20, the author will continue to explore the cultic themes related to the destruction of Gog's host.

This pericope is the most unique of all the Gog oracles. In it, the author of GO maintained the practice of borrowing individual phrases and clauses as linguistic building blocks for the oracle, but more of the language is his own than in any other portion of GO. Likewise, he alluded to some essential topoi from other scriptural texts (the end of war, the purity of the land) in keeping with his usual custom, but for the first time he introduced a wholly new motif into the story (the precise and lengthy description of the burial of Gog) and introduces a new application of the Torah (defilement of the land by casualties of war).[191]

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[188] Both terms are *Leitwörter* in Ezek 39.11–16 (עֶצֶם occurs in 39.15; קב״ר occurs in 39.11 [bis], 12, 13, 14, 15).

[189] This is, in many respects, the same interpretive reasoning that is at work in the Rabbinic exegetical principle *binyan ʾab*, by which a law revealed in one text may be applied to other circumstances that appear to be logically similar (see Wilhelm Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, 1:9–11, 2:21–22; Meir Zvi Bergman, *Gateway to the Talmud: History, Development, and Principles of Torah She'b'al Peh – From Moses to the Baal Shem Tov and Vilna Gaon*, trans. Nesanel Kasnett; ed. Tzvi Zev Arem [Brooklyn: Mesorah, 1985], 136–40; Bernstein and Koyfman. "The Interpretation of Biblical Law," 80–82).

[190] Of course, certain cases of ritual defilement require the assistance of priests to resolve (e.g., childbirth, skin disease; see, Lev 12–13), but not all do. Moral impurity always requires the services of a priest to expiate.

[191] A different reapplication of the laws of blood defilement and corpse defilement can be found in Num 35.33–34: "You shall not pollute the land in which you live; for blood pollutes the land, and no expiation can be made for the land, for the blood that is shed in it, except by the blood of the one who shed it. You shall not defile the land in which you

Excursus E: The "Travelers" in MT-Ezekiel 39.11–16

In MT of 39.11–16, the עברים, "travelers," appear four times. There are several different referents for the term within these six verses. In 39.11a, עברים is the name of the valley; 39.11b is ambiguous. There, עברים may refer to Gog's host or, more likely, to any and every traveler, indicating that the valley is impassable due to the volume of corpses lying in it. In 39.14a, the עברים can only be the host of Gog (indicating how verse 11b was understood in the Proto-Masoretic tradition[192]), whereas in 39.15a עברים can only refer to the undertakers, who pass through the valley interring the slain. These last two occurrences of עברים (vv. 14b, 15a) are pluses in the MT.[193] The result of these two glosses, whether intentional or not, is an inversion. The "travelers" (i.e., invaders) were stopped in the valley, to be interred, later, by teams of Israelite "travelers."[194] The עברים, appear elsewhere in Ezekiel, but the term is given different referents in GO in order to redress an injury done to Israel.

The עברים appear numerous times in Ezekiel (5.14, 16.15, 25; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34) with two different referents. The term is used to indicate Israel's foreign lovers (16.15, 25) and to indicate foreigners passing through the land (5.14, 33.28, 35.7, and 36.34). In 5.15, Ezekiel warned the Judeans that they would be so devastated by the Babylonians that they would become "an object of mocking . . . in the sight of everyone passing by (עבר)." When the Judean survivors of 587 B.C.E. persisted in their unacceptable ways, this judgment was intensified: "the mountains of Israel will be desolate, so that none will pass through (עובר)" (33.28).[195]

In the oracles against the nations, Ezekiel leveled harsh judgments on Judah's neighbors, those dwelling "all around." One of their principal crimes was a tendency to delight in the land's misfortunes (25.3, 6; 26.2;

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live, in which I also dwell; for I Yhwh dwell among the Israelites." This text asserts that blood that is shed by violence defiles the land. Only punishment in equal measure expiates for the impurity. This extends the principle of corpse defilement to include all violent acts, not just those that result in death. It also extends the notion that eating blood defiles the eater to include bloodshed and the land itself.

[192] On the Ugaritic lexeme OBRM, meaning "departed," and its connection with the Rephaim and the cult of the dead, see Marvin H. Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (ed. Maria de Jong Ellis; Hamdon, CT: Archon Books, 1977), 173–75.

[193] See the translation of 39.9–16 above.

[194] Some commentators recognize the variety of referents for עברים in MT (see, e.g., Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 468–73). Others dismiss the pericope as an irreconcilable muddle. See, e.g., Hölscher, *Hesekiel*, 185–86; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 527–29; Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 432, 469, 485, 505–7.

[195] The same judgment is leveled against Mt. Seir in 35.7 and reversed for Israel in 36.34–35.

28.24, 26; 34.29; 35.5, 10; 36.5, 6). The surrounding nations were judged for this, and GO expanded this judgment to include the widespread nations of the earth (38.4–6; 39.1, 6). The one group not accounted for is the עברים, who also mocked the land for its misfortunes (5.15). Near the end of GO, in 39.11–17, a scribe filled this gap in the Proto-Masoretic tradition. The scribe accounted for the travelers by associating Gog and his allies with them (39.14b).

The reason for associating Gog with the travelers is to elicit a sense of justice. The travelers can hardly be left unpunished, since they are guilty of the same offense as the surrounding nations: mocking Israel for her misfortune. Affiliating Gog with the travelers completes God's judgment on all foreigners, by drawing the last outstanding group into the circle of God's wrath. Moreover, associating Gog with this group, the author encourages readers to extend the book's negative evaluation of the עברים to Gog. In the MT, then, Gog deserved his fate.[196]

VI. Ezekiel 39.17–20: "Assemble; Come to the Sacrificial Feast . . ."

MT, LXX^{A}, LXX^{B}, and Pap^{967} are unanimous that the next pericope begins with v. 17, and all but Pap^{967} set the end of the pericope after v. 24. Ezekiel 39.17–29 is a single pericope in Pap^{967}. I agree with the majority reading that vv. 17–24 stand apart from vv. 25–29 in sense and argument. Ezekiel 39.17–24 is further subdivided by the signatory formula נאם אדני יהוה at the end of v. 20 (see pp. 134–37). These verses are a single scene, a sacral feast of wild animals at the divine table. I will address vv. 17–20 as an independent unit here, because vv. 17–20 and vv. 21–24 were crafted from different source material.

(17) And you, son of man, {+}[197] thus says the Lord Yhwh, "Speak to the birds, every winged thing, and to every beast of the field, 'Assemble yourselves, and come. {*Gather*}[198] from all around unto my sacrifice, which I am sacrificing for you, a great sacrifice upon {+}[199] the mountains of Israel. And you will eat flesh, and drink blood. (18) The flesh of warriors you will eat, and the blood of the princes of the earth you will drink. All

[196] I suspect that the MT glosses were inspired by Joel 4.17b, "And Jerusalem will be holy, and strangers will never again pass through (יעברו) it." If this is the case, it interprets the strangers in Joel 4.17b as foreign invaders. The scribe, in that case, is trying to express the decisiveness of the war with Gog, which will put an end to foreign invasions of the land (cf. Ezek 44.7–9).

[197] LXX adds an imperative ειπον (אמר).

[198] "Gather," האספו, is absent in Pap^{967}, but present in LXX^{A} and LXX^{B}. It was probably omitted as redundant.

[199] Pap^{967} adds παντα, "*all* the mountains of Israel," reinforcing the vastness of Gog's horde.

of them are rams, lambs, and he-goats, {*bullocks*},[200] fatlings {*of Bashan*}.[201] (19) And you will eat fat[202] for satiety and drink blood for drunkenness from my sacrifice, which I have sacrificed for you. (20) And you shall be satisfied at my table: horse and charioteer,[203] warrior, and every man of battle' – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh."

The author of GO returns to the motif of animals devouring the slain in 39.17–20. In 39.4, it was tersely reported that Gog and his horde would be slain on the mountains and devoured by wild animals. The images there were inspired by Isa 14 and Ps 79 and the locutions used to express the threat were adopted from Ezek 29, one of the oracles against Egypt. The current pericope is much more detailed and fantastic. The literary devices in the pericope are like those of a fable. The animals are anthropomorphized. They are summoned by the prophet to eat and drink at God's table in a great sacral feast, celebrating the destruction of Gog. Gog's host, meanwhile, is zoomorphized, presented as sacrificial animals slaughtered by God's hand and served up to sate the guests at the divine table.

The direct inspiration for the scene was Isa 34.6–7, where the destruction of the Edomites is pictured in a strikingly similar fashion.

> Yhwh has a sword
> it is sated with blood,
> it is gorged with fat,
> with the blood of lambs and goats,
> with the fat of the kidneys of rams.
> For Yhwh has a sacrifice in Bozrah,
> a great slaughter in the land of Edom.
> Wild oxen shall fall with them,
> and young steers with the mighty bulls.
> Their land shall be soaked with blood,
> and their soil made rich with fat.

The oracle begins in Isa 34.2 with an announcement of judgment upon all the nations, "Yhwh is incensed with *all the nations*, his fury is directed

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[200] "Bullocks," פרים, is absent in LXX. It may have been dropped to coordinate the verse with Ezek 27.21.

[201] "Fatlings of Bashan" occurs nowhere else in the HB. LXX has "fattened calves," οἱ μόσχοι εστεατωμένοι : : מריאים. "Sheep of Bashan" occurs in Deut 19.21, 32.14, Amos 4.1.

[202] For חלב, Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 429), following Peshitta, reads בשר ("flesh . . . and blood").

[203] "Chariot," רכב, appears out of place in a list of things to be devoured. LXX (followed by Vulgate and Peshitta) reads ἀναβάτην : : רֹכֵב "horseman" (sg.). H. J. Kraus has argued that in two cases, Ps 76.7 and Ezek 39.20, רֶכֶב means "charioteer." Ps 76.7 reads "at your rebuke, O God of Jacob, both charioteer (רכב) and horse lay stunned." Inasmuch as a chariot cannot be stunned, Kraus' translation seems to be the only course (Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalm 60–150: A Commentary* [trans. Hilton C. Oswalt; Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989], 108).

against *all their hosts*, he has doomed them and destined them for slaughter." This dictum provided the author of GO with the opportunity to apply the oracle to Gog as well. The number of the motifs and tropes from Isa 34.6–7 that reappear in GO are too many to be coincidental. The agent in both cases is God's sword. Humans are depicted as livestock. Their blood and fat satiates the devourer, and the slaughter is portrayed as a sacrifice.[204] The list of animals in Isa 34.6 also overlaps with 39.18, the only two lists of animals in the HB to have these animals in this order. The language of both oracles is also colored by Levitical instruction, in this case instructions prohibiting the eating of fat and blood. Leviticus 7.23–27 reads:

> Speak to the people of Israel, saying, "You will not eat the fat of an ox or a sheep or a goat. The fat of an animal carcass or one that was torn by wild animals may be put to any other use, but you may not eat it. If anyone eats the fat of an animal from which an offering by fire is presented to Yhwh, that person will be cut off from your kindred. You must not eat any blood at all, either of bird or of beast, in any of your settlements. Any person who eats any blood will be cut off from his kindred."

By means of these allusions, the author of GO introduced a role reversal into the story to highlight the extraordinary, unlikely fate of Gog and his allies. In the case of Isa 34, the ironic turning was already present in the evoked text. The humans became like animals, the warriors like the slaughtered. The author of GO stretched the inversion and made it into a parody. He imagined wild animals devouring the slain like so many lords and ladies sitting down to table. Leviticus 7, though, contains no role reversal. In this case, the author supplied it. Leviticus 7.23–27 is an injunction by Yhwh, prohibiting the eating of certain fats and all blood on pain of death. In GO, Yhwh himself consecrates the violation, overturning his own legal injunction. But, when combined with the motifs from Isa 34, it is a violation in the reverse. We do not see humans eating animal fat and drinking

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[204] Isa 25.6–7; 56.9; Jer 46.10; 50.25–27; Zeph 1.7–8; and Ps 78.19 all contain similarities to Ezek 39.17–20, but none reflect the complex combination of motifs found in Isa 34.6–7 and Ezek 39.17–20. Isa 25.6–7 describes a feast ordained by God, but lacks wild animals or human slain. In Isa 56.9 God summons wild beasts to eat, but they eat the flock of Israel. Jer 46.10 describes a battle between Babylon and Egypt as a divine sacrifice, but it too lacks animals who devour human corpses. In Jer 50.25–27 the Babylonians are described as bulls slaughtered by God, but the feast and carrion animal images are absent. In Zeph 1.7–8, God consecrates a sacrifice of humans, but the humans are not described as animals nor is the sacrifice presented as a feast for wild animals. Finally, the topos of God's table only appears outside of GO in Ps 78.19. In Ps 78 the people of Israel complain that God cannot care for them in the wilderness: "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?" But GO and Ps 78 do not share images or themes; the one shared locution שלחן, "table," is used to cast a different figure (care for starving Israelites).

animal blood but animals eating human fat and drinking human blood, and the animals violate sacral law at the behest of the deity who imposed the law.[205]

Again, the author has included locutions from other texts as well. The relative clause אשר אני זבח לכם, "which I am sacrificing for you" (v. 17b) contributes to the pattern of inversions in 39.9–20. It is a reversal of the common expression זבח + ל + deity, found so frequently in Exodus and Deuteronomy.[206] In addition, the pericope is filled out with several locutions from Ezekiel, further conforming GO to Ezekiel's style.[207]

Ezekiel 39.17–20 maintains the pattern of richly textured layers of allusion that we have seen throughout GO. In 39.9–16, the author of GO introduced pun and wordplay into the story to mock the invaders and their fate. Here in 39.17–20 he takes greater creative license and reshapes prophetic images and legal stipulations to craft a sophisticated parody of Gog.

This is the last that the author of GO has to say about the invaders. His attention now turns to the fate of Israel.

VII. Ezekiel 39.21–29: "I Will Display My Glory . . ."

Ezekiel 39.21–29 is, in fact, two pericopae, vv. 21–24 and vv. 25–29. This is reflected in the scribal divisions in the MT, LXX^{A}, and LXX^{B}. (Pap^{967} has fewer pericopae altogether, and retains vv. 17–29 as a single unit). I will address these verses as a single unit because the whole section reflects the linguistic and ideological influences of Deuteronomy and Isaiah.[208]

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[205] Klein sees 39.17–20 as a *Fortschreibung*. In this case, it expands upon 39.4 and is inspired by Jer 46.10: "That day is the day of Lord Yhwh of hosts, a day of retribution, to gain vindication from his foes; the sword shall devour and be sated, and drink its fill of their blood. For the Lord Yhwh of hosts holds a sacrifice in the land of the north by the river Euphrates" (*Schriftauslegung*, 136–37). To my mind, the primary source text for the pericope's constellation of images can only be Isa 34.6–7 (see reasons in n. 204).

[206] The locution זבח + ל + deity occurs twenty times in the Torah – in non-P, P, and Deuteronomic material (Gen 46.1; Exod 3.18; 5.3, 8, 17; 8.4, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; 13.15; 22.19; 24.5; 34.15 [cf. 20.24]; Lev 19.5; 22.29; Deut 15.21; 16.2; 17.1). It occurs eleven times in DtrH, excluding references to sacrificing to pagan deities (Josh 8.31; Judg 2.5; 1 Sam 1.3, 21; 6.15; 15.15, 21; 16.2, 5; 1 Kgs 8.63; 11.8), but it only appears twice in the Prophets (Jonah 1.6 [cf. 2.10]; Mal 1.14). There are an additional seven occurrences in the Writings (Pss 22.6; 50.4 [cf. 4.6]; 1 Chr 29.21; 2 Chr 11.16; 15.11; 28.23; 30.22). The (typically) Deuteronomic expression זבח + לפני יהוה appears in Lev 9.4; Deut 27.7; 1 Sam 11.15; 1 Kgs 8.62; and 2 Chr 7.4.

[207] בוא + קבץ // Ezek 34.13; 37.21; הרי ישראל // 6.2, 3; 19.9; 33.28; 34.13, 14; 35.12; 36.1, 4, 8; 37.22; אכל לשבעה // 34.3; סוס ורכב // 26.7 (38.4); נאם אדני יהוה // 84x in Ezekiel.

[208] Ezek 39.23–29 or 25–29 (opinions vary) are, more commonly than any other part of GO, taken as a redactional addition to GO and one of the latest additions to the book as a whole. This judgment is based on the contents of the pericope, not its surface fea-

(21) "And I will set my glory upon *the nations*,[209] and all the nations will see my judgment that I have performed, and my hand, which I have laid upon them. (22) And the house of Israel will know that I am Yhwh their God from that day and forward. (23) And {+}[210] the nations will know that the house of Israel was exiled for their iniquity, because[211] they were unfaithful to me,[212] so I hid my face from them, and I gave them into the hand of their enemies, and they fell by the sword, all of them. (24) According to their impurity and according to their transgressions I have acted with them,[213] and hid my face from them."

(25) Therefore thus says the Lord Yhwh, "Then[214] I will restore the fortunes[215] of Jacob, and have mercy upon {*all*}[216] the house of Israel, and will be jealous *for* my holy

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tures or compositional style. The judgment of F.-L. Hossfeld is typical, "Die Gogkapitel 38f sprengen den Zusammenhang von Kap.37 mit 40–48. Im Unterschied zum Kontext beschäftigen sie sich mit der »nachnächsten Zukunft« und müssen vom Epilog 39,23–29 eigens in den Kontext zurückgebunden werden" (E. Zenger, et. al., *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 7th ed. [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008], 501). Hossfeld's view of the role of 39.21–29 is perfectly correct, but does not persuade me that the pericope is an addition. I am convinced that 39.21–29 is original to GO. This judgment is based upon (1) the consistent pastiche style of the whole, (2) the lack of fractures in the surface features of vv. 21–29 (grammatical discontinuities, scribal markers of addition, etc.), and (3) the fact that the sources alluded to in vv. 21–29 (Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Joel) were, we have seen, accessible and known to the author of GO. This last point was overlooked, for example, by Nobile, "Beziehung zwischen Ez 32,17–22 und der Gog-Perikope," 55–59.

[209] LXX has ἐν ὑμιν where MT has בגוים. Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 429) suggested that this reflects and original בגוג (as opposed to בכם, "on you"). As Crane points out (*Restoration*, 188), the antecedent of the pronoun in LXX would have to be the animals who are being addressed (vv. 17–20) not Israel, as K. L. Wong would have it ("The Masoretic and Septuagint Texts of Ezekiel 39,21–29," *ETL* 78/1 [2002]: 133).

[210] LXX adds πάντα "*all* the nations," once again stressing the global scope of GO. See n. 91 above.

[211] For על אשר used to mark a causal clause "because," see JM §170.

[212] For מעלי בי LXX has ἀνθ᾽ ὡν ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἐμέ, "because they rejected me." One would suppose that this reflects בי מאם, but ἀθετέω is never used to render מאם, whereas it is used to render מעל in 1 Chr 2.7; 5.25; 2 Chr 36.14; and Neh 1.8. This gives the impression that "reject" was considered to be within the semantic range of מעל.

[213] Most scholars emend אֹתָם to אִתָּם (see 38.6b).

[214] For עתה meaning "then," compare 1 Sam 2.16; Josh 14.11, Mic 4.7 (see E. Jenni, "Zur Verwendung von עַתָּה, "jetzt," im Alten Testament," *ThZ* 28 [1972]: 5–12; *HALOT* 2: 901–2). Block (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 485) suggests that עתה in 39.25 is "snatching the hearers' attention away from the distant utopian future, and returning them to the very real needs of the present." But there are no examples of עתה used this way, with the sense of "now [to return to matters of the present]."

[215] This is a perpetual Kethib-Qere (שבות Q; שבית K). The etymology of שבית/ות is uncertain (BL §75k; J. A. Soggin, "שוב," *TLOT* 3: 1314–15). Both spellings, שבית/ות are often used in contexts describing exile. That, and the graphic similarity to שבה, led the Masoretes and translators of the versions to associate it with "exile/go into exile," שבה (LXX ἀποστρέψω τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν," I will return the captives"). When combined with the verb שוב (e.g., Ezek 16.53 [bis]; 29.14) the locution has traditionally been translated "restore the captivity" (per LXX). This translation, "restore the captivity," is not

name.[217] (26) And they will bear[218] their shame,[219] and {*all*}[220] their unfaithfulness, by which they acted unfaithfully {*with me*}[221] when they dwell upon their land securely, and there is no one to cause fear. (27) When I have returned them from the peoples, and I have gathered them from the lands {*of their enemies*},[222] and display my holiness among them in the eyes of {*many*}[223] nations. (28) Then will they know that I am Yhwh their God, *after I exile them*[224] among the nations, {*and I gather them to their own land, and I do not leave any of them behind there*}.[225] (29) Neither will I hide my face any more from

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well suited to the current context (39.25). Some of the people have already returned and resettled the land. Other occurrences of the locution, outside of Ezekiel, are even more clear, that שבית should not be associated too closely with "exile" In Job 42.10, Yhwh "*restored the fortunes* (שב את שבית) of Job." In Hos 7.1, Yhwh announced that he "would *restore the fortunes* (בשובי שבות) of my people."

[216] The כל is not reflected in LXX. LXX renders the כל (πάντας) in every other occurrence of the phrase in Ezekiel (כל בית ישראל; 3.7; 5.4; 11.15; 12.10; 20.40; 36.10; 37.11, 16; 45.6), strongly suggesting that it was absent in the *Vorlage*.

[217] LXX has nuanced MT's וקנאתי לשם קדשי as καὶ ζηλώσω διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιόν μου, "I will be jealous on account of my holy name." Wong clarifies the options neatly: "διά with the accusative here either shows that the translator understands the phrase as what it means in 36,22 ["it is not for your sake, O house of Israel, that I am about to act, but *for the sake of* my holy name"] or that the translator wants to harmonize the readings, or that the translator attempts to emphasize the importance of the holy name of God in related to his action" ("Ezekiel 39,21–29," 139).

[218] וְנָשׂוּ, "they will bear," (quiescent *aleph*) is corrected to וְנָשְׂאוּ, "they will bear," in a couple of medieval mss (HUBP). Elliger (BHS) and Toy (*Ezekiel*, 101) suggest וְנָשׁוּ, "they have forgotten" (נשה), but note that: (1) all the versions agree with the MT pointing; (2) נשא כלמה occurs often in the book (16.52, 54; 32.24–25, 30; 34.29; 36.6–7, 15; 44.13); and (3) נשה never occurs in Ezekiel.

[219] LXX shades כלמה as "dishonor," as it does routinely (16.52, 63; 36.7, 16; 44.13).

[220] LXX lacks כל, which is reinserted in Symmachus (πάσας) to align with MT.

[221] The phrase בי, "against me," is absent in LXX. It was reflected in 39.23, suggesting that MT has coordinated the two verses.

[222] LXX^{B,A} read "lands of the nations" (χωρῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν) where MT reads, "lands of their enemies," ארצות איביהם. Pap^{967} omits "of the nations" (τῶν ἐθνῶν) altogether. LXX-Ezek uses ἔθνος ninety times. With one exception, it always renders גוים or עם/עמים. (The exception is 26.16 where MT has נשיאי הים, "princes of the sea," and LXX has οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, "the rulers of the nations.") "Enemy," איב is rare in Ezekiel, occurring only in 36.2 and 39.27. In 36.2 it is translated with ἐχθρὸς not ἔθνος. There is no apparent error or adjustment here. MT and LXX preserve different texts.

[223] The modifier רבים is absent in LXX^{B} but is present in Pap^{967} (πολλῶν). See n. 140 above and the discussion in Mackie, "Expanding," 185–87.

[224] LXX reads בְּהַגְלוֹתִי, "when I exile . . ." as בְּהִתְגַּלּוֹתִי, "when I reveal/manifest myself" (*niphal*). Thus, ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανῆναί με. See the discussion in Mackie, "Expanding," 147–49.

[225] The long plus in MT is a scribal gloss, inserted, in part, from v. 27. Lust observes that LXX-Ezek seldom omits redundancies ("The Final Text and Textual Criticism. Ez 39,28," in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism in their Interrelation* [ed. Johann Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: University Press, 1986], 48), and MT-Ezek is notoriously expansionistic.

them, because[226] I have poured out *my spirit* [227] upon the house of Israel"– an utterance of the Lord Yhwh.

The last nine verses of GO describe the results of the entire episode. Once Gog is destroyed, both Israel and the nations will acknowledge Yhwh. When Yhwh dispenses with the nations of the earth without effort, it will prove that the exile was not the result of Yhwh's inability to protect his people. Rather, the exile was *caused* by Yhwh, as a punishment for Israel's moral impurity and transgressions (esp. v. 28). Once Yhwh's reputation is restored, he will relent and return his people (vv. 25–29). All the Diaspora will be regathered and restored, dwelling again in safety with no one to oppress them. Yhwh will restore them to his favor and pour out his spirit on them.

Like every pericope before it, the unit is replete with language and themes from other sources: Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea and Joel. Unlike every pericope before it, it shows no dependence upon a dominant source text, a parent that dictated most of its themes and images. Instead, its themes and images are drawn from a variety of contexts, assembled (esp. vv. 25–29) without symmetry or concern for redundancy.[228]

The pericope opens with a verse composed almost entirely of linguistic material borrowed from Isaiah and Deuteronomy. None of the locutions is evocative of a particular source text in either book. Rather, they are echoes of the lexical choices and expressive habits observable across Deuteronomy and Second and Third Isaiah. (Identical locutions are underlined. Locutions in Isa 66.19 that appear elsewhere in GO are underlined with dashes.)

Ezek 39.21	And I will set <u>my glory upon the nations</u> (את כבודי בגוים), <u>and all the nations will see</u> (וראו כל הגוים) <u>my judgment, which I have executed</u> (משפטי אשר עשיתי), and my hand, which I have laid upon them.
Deut	<u>my judgment, which I have executed</u> (משפטי אשר עשיתי; this is a common expression in Deut, appearing, for example, in 5.31, 12.1, and 17.11).
Isa 42.8b	I am Yhwh, that is my name, <u>my glory</u> (כבודי) I give to no other.
Isa 52.10	Yhwh has bared his holy arm, before the eyes of <u>all the nations</u> (כל הגוים), And the ends of the earth <u>will see</u> (וראו), the salvation of our God.

[226] For אשר LXX has "because," ἀνθ' οὗ, inspiring Cornill (*Ezechiel*, 424) to emend to יען אשר. However, אשר is used to mark causal clauses, relative clauses, purpose clauses, and result clauses. Of these choices, causal is the only option that makes sense in this context.

[227] For MT's שפכתי את רוחי LXX offers ἐξέχεα τόν θυμόν μου, "I have poured out my wrath" (שפכתי את חמתי). This harmonizes the verse with Ezekiel's habits of expression (Ezek 7.8; 9.8; 20.8, 13, 21, 33, 34; 30.15; 36.18 [cf. 21.36; 22.31]), and with that of the Prophets as a whole. See below for an extended discussion.

[228] The restoration themes in vv. 25–29 are arranged neither by chronology (as they will be unfolded), nor by kind, nor (for those which are drawn from Ezekiel) in the order in which they first appear. In addition, vv. 26a, 27b, and 28b (MT) are redundant with 23a, 21a, and 27a respectively.

Isa 62.2 The nations will see (וראו גוים) your vindication, and all the kings your glory (כבודך).

Isa 66.19 I will set a sign among them. I will send survivors (פליטים) to the nations (גוים), to Tarshish, Put, and Lud (תרשיש פוט לוד)[229] – which draw the bow – to Tubal and Javan (תבל ויון), to the coastlands (האיים) far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory (ראו את כבודי); and they shall declare my glory among the nations (את כבודי בגוים).

There are obvious similarities between Ezek 39.21 and Isaiah not only in language but also in topoi: glory, witness of the nations, and vindication of Israel. It has long been recognized that, generally speaking, Isa 40–66 was composed later than Ezekiel and borrowed from it.[230] In the case of GO, however, it is more likely that the author of GO reused materials from Isa 40–66, as is indicated by the distinctive Isaianic language in 39.21. The locutions "my glory among the nations" (כבודי בגוים), and "all nations will see" (וראו [כל] גוים) are distinctive expressions of Isa 40–66, largely unknown outside of the book.[231] More telling, such language is completely unattested elsewhere in Ezekiel. Its sudden appearance here is due to literary dependence.[232] It seems likely that the author's attention fell upon Isa 66.19, in particular, because of its subject matter (eschatological judgment) and its reuse of foreign nations from Gen 10, which the author of GO also reused (see discussion on 38.1–6). What differs between the two texts is the mechanism by which the nations acknowledge Yhwh's glory. In Isa 66, survivors of Yhwh's day of vindication (66.5–16) bring word of his glory to the nations. In GO, the unexpected, supernatural annihilation of Gog's host leads the nations to acknowledge Yhwh's power.

Every verse of 39.21–29 is constructed in the same fashion as 39.21. That is, the whole pericope is a rich mix of locutions from other sources that are used, in the main, for flavor and texture, not to comment upon or adjust the source texts per se. Note the following reused locutions:[233]

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[229] See notes 51 and 52 regarding MT's פול.

[230] See Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja*.

[231] "Set my glory" (נתן כבוד with God as subject) occurs only in Isa 42.8, 48.11; Ezek 39.21; Pss 84.12, and 115.1. "Glory among the nations" (כבוד בגוים) occurs only in Isa 66.19 and Ezek 39.21. "All the nations will see" (ראה + כל גוים) occurs in Exod 34.10; Isa 52.10, 62.2, and Lam 1.10. Finally, "judgment I have done" (1st per. עשה + משפט / שפט), though not distinctive of Isaiah, occurs both in Ezek 39.21 and Isa 58.2.

[232] The dependence of GO on Isa 40–66 further confirms that GO is an addition to Ezekiel.

[233] Only locutions from outside Ezekiel are indicated. I have omitted MT's expansions, excepting only בי in v. 26 and איביהם in v. 27. These two have been retained because they show that the scribe responsible recognized the H locutions in GO and made additions to the oracle in the same vein.

(23) And the nations will know that the house of Israel was exiled for their iniquity, because they were unfaithful to me, so I hid my face from them, and I gave them into the hand of their enemies, and they fell by the sword – all of them. (24) According to their impurity and according to their transgressions I have acted with them, and I hid my face from them." (25) Therefore thus says the Lord Yhwh, "Then I will restore the fortunes of Jacob, and I will have mercy upon the house of Israel, and will be jealous for my holy name. (26) And they will bear their shame, and all their unfaithfulness, by which they acted unfaithfully {*with me*} when they dwell upon their land securely, and there is no one to cause fear. (27) When I have returned them from the peoples, and I have gathered them from the lands {*of their enemies*}, and display my holiness among them in the eyes of the nations. (28a) Then will they know that I am Yhwh their God, after I exile them among the nations. (29) Neither will I hide my face any more from them, because I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel"– an utterance of the Lord Yhwh.'"

מעלו בי // Lev 26.40 (cf. Deut 32.51)
אסתר פני מהם // Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20 (cf. Isa 8.17; 54.8)
נתן + ב- + יד + איוב // Josh 21.44; Judg 16.24; 2 Kgs 21.14; Jer 20.5; 34.20, 21 (Lev 26.25)[234]
אסתר פני מהם // Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20 (cf. Isa 8.17; 54.8)
רחמתי כל בית ישראל // Hos 1.6
שם קדשי // Lev 20.3; 22.2, 32 (cf. Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; 22.2; 32)
מעלם אשר מעלו בי // Lev 26.40 (cf. Deut 32.51)
ישב + לבטח // Lev 25.18, 19; 26.5
אין מחריד // Lev 26.6
קבצתי ... מארצות // Jer 23.3; 32.37 (cf. 31.8)
ארצות אויביהם // Lev 26.34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44 (vv. 34, 38, 39, are 2d pers. pl.)
נקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים (w. God as subject) // combination from Lev 22.32 and 26.45
סתר + פני מהם (1st person, God as subject) // Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20 (cf. Isa 8.17; 54.8)
שפכתי את רוחי // Joel 3.1–2

It is immediately apparent, just by glancing down this list, that the H code supplied the majority of the reused locutions, supplemented by one locution from Deuteronomy, which is used redundantly (vv. 23, 24, 29), and one from Jeremiah (v. 27).[235] It is also immediately apparent that, apart from Hos 1.6 and Joel 3.1–2, none of these locutions point to a specific source text. Rather, they are characteristic phrases, which occur repeatedly in their native corpora.[236] The expression רחמתי כל בית ישראל, "I will have compassion on the whole house of Israel," is a transparent inversion of Hos 1.6 לא אוסיף עוד ארחם את בית ישראל, "I will no longer have compassion on the house of Israel" (cf. 2.19). The allusion serves to locate the prom-

[234] This is a common Deuteronomic expression, though the author of GO has adjusted the locution slightly. Everywhere else in the HB (except Neh 9.27) the locution is נתן + ב + איוב (not צר).

[235] As noted, נתן + ב- + איוב, is a common Deuteronomic expression. However, inasmuch as 39.21–19 is heavily dependent upon H, and the same expression does appear in Lev 26.25, the author of GO may well have taken it from Lev 26.

[236] One H locution, מעלם אשר מעלו בי, occurs only in GO and Lev 26.40.

ised restoration in Hosea in the אחרית הימים (38.16), after the invasion of Gog.

The pericope concludes with an allusion to Joel 3.1–2.[237]

JOEL 3.1–2 (Eng. 2.28–29)	EZEKIEL 39.29
Then afterward, I will pour out my spirit on (אשפוך את רוחי על) all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. Even on the male and female slaves, in those days, I will pour out my spirit.	Neither will I hide my face any more from them, because I will have poured out my spirit upon (שפכתי את רוחי על) the house of Israel – an utterance of Lord Yhwh.

At first glance, the expression "I will have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel" (Ezek 39.29) appears to be nothing more than a rewording of Ezek 37.14, "I will put my spirit within you."[238] However, when the book of Ezekiel speaks of giving the spirit, it always uses נתן (11.19; 36.26, 27; 37.14).[239] Ezekiel uses שפך exclusively for pouring out wrath.[240] In fact, שפך occurs sixty times in the prophetic corpus, and in every case it is used in a negative expression as part of an oracle of judgment (for blood, anger, fornication, and so on). In every case, that is, except Ezek 39.29 and Joel 3.1–2.[241]

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[237] John Strazicich (following Merx, *Prophetie*, 68) asserts that Joel 3.1 alludes to Ezek 39.29, not vice versa. He does not defend this claim. *Joel's Use of Scripture and Scripture's Use of Joel: Appropriation and Resignification in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (BI 82; Leiden and Boston, 2007), 208.

[238] So S. Bergler, *Joel als Schriftinterpret* (BEATAJ 16; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1988), 269; Strazicich, *Joel's Use*, 210.

[239] See also, Num 11.25, 29; 1 Kgs 22.23; 2 Kgs 19.7; Isa 37.7; 42.1; Qoh 12.7; Neh 9.20; 2 Chr 18.22.

[240] See Ezek 7.8; 9.8; 20.8, 13, 21, 33, 34; 30.15; 36.18 (cf.. 21.36; 22.31). LXX reads ἐξέχεα τόν θυμόν μου, "I have poured out my wrath" (שפכתי את חמתי), suggesting that the translator recognized the non-Ezekielian turn of phrase.

[241] There are two majority positions on the date of Joel. The most common position is to date the book, as a unity, to the fifth century (see, for example, Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia. Fortress, 1977] 5; Bergler, *Joel als Schriftinterpret*, 9–13; Willem S. Prinsloo, *Theology of the Book of Joel* [BZAW 163; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1985], 5–9). Other scholars identify two principal strata in the book: one attributed to Joel ben-Pethuel that was inspired by a locust plague (usually, 1.1–14, 16–20; 2.2b–11a, 12–27), and a second comprehensive redactional reworking of the collection (usually, 1.15; 2.1b–2a, 11b; 3.1–4.21) that recasts the whole as an eschatological prophecy (for example, B. Duhm, "Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten," *ZAW* 31 [1911]: 184–87; E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. übersetzt und erklärt*. 3d ed., [KAT 12; Leipzig: Deichert, 1929]; T. H. Robinson and F. Horst, *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 3rd ed. [HAT 13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964]; J. Blenkinsopp, *History of Prophecy*, 258–59). In this case, also, the completed book is dated to the fifth century. As will be argued in chap 5, this is, by either estimation, earlier than the date of GO.

The author of GO alluded to Joel 3.1–2 to explain the gift of the spirit, which was promised in Ezek 11.19–20 and 37.14.[242] Ezekiel 11.19–20 promised the people "one heart" (לב אחד) and a "new spirit" (רוח חדשה). Ezekiel 37.14 promised the coming of "my spirit" (רוחי) as part of the revivification of the nation. The notion of a new heart was expressed as God's transformation of the people, changing their constitution, so that they would be able to keep the covenant (11.19b–20a), but neither Ezek 11.19–20 nor 37.14 explained the "new spirit." Joel, though, described an outpouring of God's spirit following the *yôm Yhwh*. For him, the spirit is the gift of prophetic inspiration poured out on all the people in the eschaton.[243] The author of GO filled the gap in Ezekiel's explanation of the transformation of the people by linking the book of Ezekiel to Joel. In his view, the whole people will be obedient (per Ezek 11.19–20), and all the people will be prophets (per Joel 3.1–2).

The major themes of the pericopae are, however, another matter. These are an amalgam of elements derived from the deliverance oracles in Ezekiel (11.19–21; 16.53–63; 20.39–44; 28.25–26; 36.1–23b) including profanation and sanctification of God's name, return, remembrance, shame and transformation. These are pervasive, complex themes in Ezekiel. How GO adopts and transforms them will be discussed in the next chapter under "Effects of Textual Reuse."

The purpose of this elaborate mixture of language and motifs is to telescope the horizons of all these texts into a single future. In the "latter days," the age of God's glorification will dawn (DI and TI). It will be the age when Ezekiel's deliverance oracles come to fruition. All the people will be gathered to the land again (Jer 23.3; 32.37). The spirit of God will be poured out (Joel 3.1–2), and his compassion will flow freely to Israel (Hos 1.6). The curses of the covenant will no longer operate (Deut 31.17, 18; 32.20) and all the people will be faithful to the covenant stipulations (Lev 25–26). The invasion and destruction of Gog will inaugurate the new age and secure vindication for Israel.

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[242] I am excluding the similar text in Ezek 36.26–27, because the entire passage, 36.23c–38, which is absent in Pap[967], is, in my judgment, a late scribal addition to the book, which postdates GO (see bibliography on p. 77 n. 87–88). But it is interesting to note that 36.35 is a deliberate reversal of Joel 2.3.

[243] Joel 3.1–2 is itself an allusion to Num 11.29, where Moses expresses a desire that all the people be endowed with the spirit of prophecy.

C. Conclusions

The rich tapestry of allusion that is GO reveals a creative spirit at work. The author of GO borrowed much more from his sources than just language. He quarried his literature for topoi, images, traditions, and arguments. Consequently, his extracts were of many sizes: individual phrases and clauses, lines and laws, whole pericopae, and, on occasion, entire poems or oracles. They came from many genres: law, narrative, hymn, oracle, lament, genealogy; and they came from many books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Zephaniah, and the Psalms. The texts that exerted the greatest influence on his composition were, clearly, the book of Ezekiel, the Priestly legal material (including the H code), and texts that the author took to be eschatological or applicable to the eschaton, especially texts regarding the judgment of the nations and the vindication of Israel. Some of these texts are set in the eschaton (e.g., Isa 66.19 and Joel 3.1–2), while others speak of the imminent future (e.g., Isa 34.6–7 and Jer 49.30–33). Regardless of their timeframe, all were viewed as relevant to the author's global, eschatological vision.[244] With this in mind, we can further refine our understanding of the literary form of GO. Not only is it is pastiche, as we have observed, but it might more accurately be called "thematic pastiche," pastiche constructed from texts that revolve, by and large, around select themes, in this case the vindication of Israel and the fate of the nations. Certainly, GO alludes to texts that are neither eschatological, nor about foreign nations, nor about Israel's vindication (e.g., Gen 1.26–28 and Lev 7.23–27), but the vast majority of the evoked texts are about at least one of those themes, or, though reversal and reapplication, are applied to one of those themes (e.g., Ezek 6.1–14).

In contrast to his liberal use of literary sources, the author's techniques of allusion are simple and constant. As was noted at the end of chapter 2, he uses no citation formulae; he makes no explicit citations that are more than five words in length; and he seldom offers an interpretation of any citation, whether explicit or implicit. The author's genius lies in his recombination of textual elements, amalgamating and harmonizing old materials to create something new.

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[244] Annette Steudel ("אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 [1993–94]: 225–46) has demonstrated that in the Qumran documents the phrase "latter days," אחרית הימים, encompasses past, present and future events. Almost any event, regardless of chronology, could be understood as "eschatological" if it were pertinent to and part of the sequence of events leading to the "latter days." This kind of thinking could very well explain GO's affinity for reapplying antecedent prophecy to the end of days. See also G. L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 63–66.

In the next chapter I will examine what the evidence accumulated in these first five chapters can tell us about the author's techniques, goals, and motives. In the first part of the chapter, I will describe the methods used by the author of GO to collect, combine, and reuse textual materials. I will then examine the effects of the new composition, GO, upon the book as a whole – its themes, its arguments, and its rhetoric. Finally, I will attempt a sketch of the author's motives. Motives are, to be sure, all too personal and ephemeral, not at all the stuff of concrete words and phrases. Still, the portrait is not complete without at least attempting to pinpoint the motivations that drove the author to exert such effort to alter and adapt Ezekiel, a book that he clearly identified as an essential source of power, persuasion, and expectation.

Chapter 6

Methods, Effects, and Motives

In this chapter, I turn my attention from the text of GO to its author. I have argued, to this point, that GO was composed almost entirely from preexisting textual materials. GO is a rich textual mosaic fashioned out of textual components from the Law, Prophets, and Psalms. Further, I have attempted to show that GO was designed as an addition to the book of Ezekiel and a creative expansion of the prophetic tradition. All the same, several important issues remain. First, the author thought the book of Ezekiel lacked something, which required its supplementation. This lack may have been within the arguments of the book itself, it may have been a lack of coordination between Ezekiel and other traditional literature, or it may have been a discordance between book's arguments and the author's experiences. Why did the author of GO think that the book was in need of improvement? Second, the addition of GO to Ezekiel changed the structure and content of the book's arguments. It added certain arguments and details and it adjusted others that were already present in the book. In what ways did the supplement alter the overarching message of Ezekiel? Third, the content of GO may reveal something about the author's concerns: exegetical, theological, national, or cultic. To what degree can we perceive the author's agenda, assumptions, or ideology from his supplement? Fourth and finally, it remains to identify how the new composition was designed structurally and executed exegetically. What exegetical techniques did the author of GO untilize and how did he employ those techniques in the compositional task? Put more simply, these issues revolve around the author's *motives*, *methods* in executing them, and the *effects* of the supplement upon the book as a whole.

Drawing upon the evidence uncovered in chapter four, this chapter turns to an examination of these methods, effects, and motives. The chapter begins with an investigation of the design and construction of the new composition and the exegetical/rhetorical techniques apparent in the author's reuse of older texts (*methods*). It goes on to describe the intended and unintended effects of the new composition on the book: the new topics that GO introduced into the book, the ways that it adjusted topics already present in the book, and the consequences of these additions and alterations (*effects*). Finally, the author's goals and purposes, which drove him

to enlarge Ezekiel's message, are explored (*motives*). All this is carried out with an eye toward what these investigations reveal about the author's particular religious outlook, social or professional status, and attitude toward the texts that he depended upon.

A. Methods of Scriptural Reuse

I. Compositional Methods: Recombination as Design

1. The Design of GO

One of the most striking things about GO is the way in which its author recombined his borrowed textual materials. The author reused and recombined elements of existing texts in grand ways and in minuscule ways to create a sophisticated scaffolding of dependencies that permeate every level of his composition. At the highest level, that of the entire composition or a major portion of it, the author of GO used three texts as templates, *Vorbilder*, sketching GO's major themes and plot points from them (Ezek 28.25–26, Ezek 6.1–14, Ps 79.1–4). The first of these *Vorbilder*, Ezek 28.25–26, addressed the restoration of Israel. The author used it as a starting point from which he established many of his themes and the objectives of the restoration. What Ezek 28.25–26 lacks is any hint of how or when the restoration might be brought about. To fill out the portrait in Ezek 28.25–26, the author chose to craft a narrative by combining the motifs from Ezek 28.25–26 with images, topics, and plot points acquired by inverting Ezek 6 and Ps 79.1–4. The result was a complex story about the אחרית הימים, from the origins of the crisis in the mind of Gog to its culmination and fruition in restoration and covenant renewal.

It is telling that two of the author's *Vorbilder* were adopted from Ezekiel. GO's author, in composing a supplement to the book, took his chief inspiration from Ezekiel and constructed his composition on Ezekiel's foundation, which guaranteed a degree of cohesion with the book's language and ideology. It is also telling that two of the three *Vorbilder*, Ezek 6.1–14 and Ps 79.1–4, speak of misfortune for Israel, which, when appropriated by the author of GO, are inflicted upon Gog and his nation-confederates.

At the next level, that of the individual pericopae, we see a similar technique at work. The content of most of the individual oracles was shaped by one or two principal antecedent texts. At this level, all the model texts were taken up from outside of Ezekiel and all of them are oracles.[1]

[1] Gen 10.2–8 and Ezek 27.10–23, as we have seen, were understood by the author of GO as containing material relevant to the oracle in Isa 66.19.

38.1–6	//	Num 23–24, Isa 66.19 (Gen 10, Ezek 27)
38.7–16	//	Isa 10.3–7, Jer 49.30–33
38.18–23	//	Zeph 1.2–18
39.1–8	//	Isa 14.4–21
39.9–16	//	Jer 7.30–34
39.17–20	//	Isa 34.6–7
39.21–29	//	——[2]

In some cases, the author of GO revealed his sources through verbatim citation (e.g., Gen 10.2–8, Isa 10.3–7, Jer 49.30–33), and in others he mined them for topoi and images but used language from other scriptural texts to articulate his oracles (e.g., Zeph 1.2–3; Isa 14.4b–21). The last oracle, 39.21–29, does not draw upon a single source for its major inspiration, but it is dense with allusions nonetheless. The effect of these paragraph-level allusions is the same: the coordination of Ezekiel with visions of the future from other books in the Torah and Prophets.[3]

Finally, within the individual pericopae or paragraphs the author of GO reused hundreds of locutions from across the Torah, Prophets, and Psalms. The majority of these locutions are from Ezekiel, stamping the composition in an Ezekielian mold. Others evoke passages from across the scriptural landscape, creating a complex tapestry of biblical idioms and ideas unlike anything else in the book.[4] There is a notable distinction in the author's use of locutions from Ezekiel and those from other portions of the HB. Many of the locutions borrowed from Ezekiel are used merely for linguistic color, in ways that are sometimes discordant with the book's typical usage (as was examined in ch. 2). This is never the case for locutions borrowed from the Torah, other Prophets, or Psalms. In these cases, the reuse is not undertaken merely to convey GO in a biblical idiom. Rather, they are always used to serve some exegetical or rhetorical goal, the subject to which we turn in "Effects" below.

2. Texts with Similar Design

GO is a type of literature widely attested in the Second Temple period. Its form and composition corresponds closely with many Second Temple

[2] It could be said that the backbone of 39.21–29 is a collection of locutions drawn from Ezekiel's deliverance oracles (esp. 11.19–21; 16.53–63; 28.25–26; 20.39–43) and DI as a whole. I have chosen to leave this slot blank because there is no specific source text that was the primary inspiration of the pericope.

[3] I return to this subject under "Effects" below.

[4] I identify similar texts, composed by means of a similar scaffolding of allusions, in the following pages.

texts.[5] Pastiche, though rare in the HB, is well known in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, as is the phenomena of expanding the scriptural tradition though new composition in biblical style. Below I examine three texts that are remarkably similar to GO in their form. All three are pastiche, constructed from bits and pieces of biblical texts. All three have a primary source text (or texts), which supplied many of the locutions and many, if not most, of the themes of the new text. All three have been fleshed out with individual locutions taken from many other sources.[6] Despite being cobbled together from preexisting materials, all three are coherent texts in their own right. The elements which are identified in the examples below as borrowed material were selected by two criteria. (1) Some are rare, being easily associated with a particular source text. (2) If they are not rare locutions or images, they are part of a whole constellation of elements borrowed from a specific source text and, therefore, part of a rare *grouping*. So, for example, I identify certain terms in $1QH^a$ (e.g., שאול) with Jonah 2, not because they are rare in HB, but because there is a cluster of locutions that are shared between Jonah 2.3–7 and $1QH^a$ 11.6–19. There are, of course, many other examples of pastiche within the parabiblical literature. These three merely serve as examples of a literary phenomenon, which also characterizes GO.

a. 1 Enoch 14.8–25

The text of 1 Enoch poses some difficulties for comparison with GO, but I include it in this discussion because it is the oldest example of pastiche that I have been able to identify. The only complete version of 1 Enoch is the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.[7] Clear discontinuities within 1 Enoch and the evidence from the manuscript tradition indicate that the book was assembled from several different sources: The Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36); The Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71); The Book of Heavenly Luminaries (1 Enoch 72–82); The Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83–90); and

[5] The Second Temple period is divided, roughly speaking, into the Persian period (539 B.C.E.–332 B.C.E.) and the Greco-Roman period (332 B.C.E.–70 C.E.). The second part of the period, the Greco-Roman era, saw a flourishing of literacy and religious writing in general and of scriptural interpretation specifically. On certain dynamics that contributed to this circumstance, see A. I. Baumgarten, "Literacy and the Polemics Surrounding Biblical Interpretation in the Second Temple Period," in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. J. Kugel; Cambridge: Harvard Center for Jewish Studies, 2001), 27–41.

[6] The only cases of true pastiche within the HB, to my knowledge, are GO and the Prayer of Daniel (Dan 9.4b–19). Although Daniel 9.4b–19 is replete with locutions from many biblical sources, I am not yet convinced that Dan 9.4b–19 has a principle source text, a backbone, as does every major subsection of GO. For this reason, I do not include it among the three examples I show here.

[7] Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978).

The Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–108).[8] Ethiopic Enoch was translated from a Greek version of the book, portions of which have been preserved as well.[9] Scholars long suspected that this Greek version was translated from an Aramaic original. These suspicions were greatly strengthened when Aramaic fragments of portions of four of the five major sections of Enoch surfaced at Qumran.[10] The Similitudes of Enoch was not present, but the Qumran texts had, in its place, The Book of Giants.[11]

The purest example of pastiche within 1 Enoch is the Throne Vision in 14.8–25. The Throne Vision is a part of the Book of Watchers (chs. 1–36), which has been dated to ca. 175 B.C.E. Chapters 12–16 are older than the book as a whole and are dated to the middle of the third century B.C.E.[12] The Throne Vision records Enoch's ascent through the heavenly temple[13]

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[8] The major Enochic texts are typically dated as follows: (1) The Book of Heavenly Luminaries, ca. 350 B.C.E.; (2) The Book of Watchers, ca. 250–175 B.C.E.; (3) The Book of Giants, ca. 200 B.C.E.; (4) The Book of Dreams, ca. 160 B.C.E.; (5) The Epistle of Enoch, ca. 130 B.C.E.; (6) The Similitudes of Enoch, ca. 75 C.E. The Book of Giants is not in the Ethiopic book of 1 Enoch. It was unknown until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. For dates see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 118–22; P. S. Alexander, "The Enochic Literature and the Bible: Intertextuality and its Implications," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London and New Castle: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 69.

[9] There are two major Greek witnesses to the Book of Watchers: (1) the Akhmim manuscript (Codex Panopolitanus; sigla $\mathfrak{G}^{a}$; 5th or 6th c. C.E.), which preserves 1 Enoch 19.3–21.9 followed immediately by 1.1–32.6a (R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited From Twenty-Three MSS. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions* [AOSS 11; Oxford: Clarendon 1906], 2–75; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* [PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970]); (2) George Syncellus's Ἐκλογὴ Χρονογραφίας (sigla $\mathfrak{G}^{s}$; 9th c.), which preserves fragments of the Book of Watchers (see William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* [Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989], 132–231).

[10] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

[11] On which see Nickelsburg's excursus, "The Book of Giants and 1 Enoch," in *1 Enoch 1*, 172–73.

[12] See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 230; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 140.

[13] It is generally agreed that 1 Enoch 14.8–25 is the earliest account of a heavenly ascent. Not all interpreters agree, however, that the author is describing a heavenly *temple*. Still, this seems the most obvious explanation of the evidence: (1) the divine abode is referred to as a "great house," a phrase usually reserved for the Jerusalem temple in the HB (2 Kgs 25.9; 2 Chr 3.5); (2) 1 Enoch 12.1 and 15.3 refer to the "eternal sanctuary"; (3) one of the earliest interpretations of the Vision, *Testament of Levi* 2–5 interprets the chapter as a temple vision; (4) the room housing the divine presence is called the "holy of holies" (see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in

and his commission to preach to the watchers (// Gen 6.1–4), rebel angels led by their chief, Asael. The dependence of this passage on biblical throne visions has often been noted (esp. Isa 6; 1 Kgs 22.19–23 // 2 Chr 18.18–22; Ezek 1, 10; Dan 7.9–14[14]), but it is replete with elements from many other biblical sources as well.[15]

1 Enoch 14.8–25 only exists, in its entirety, in Ethiopic and in Greek (𝔊[a]). The Aramaic evidence is limited to fragments of 14.18–20. Presenting the text of 1 Enoch 14.8–15 for comparison with elements from the HB is, therefore, problematic. I have chosen to present Nickelsburg's translation of 1 Enoch 14.8–25 in one column,[16] with source texts listed in the second column. Obviously, it is tricky to establish that a locution has been borrowed from the HB (of whatever text type) when it has been rendered within the target text in a different language. Fortunately, in the case of 1 Enoch 14.8–25, the majority of borrowed elements are distinctive enough of a particular source text or corpus that the derivation of a particular idiom or image is seldom in doubt. I wish to stress that my only purpose in this is to point out the rich mixture of biblical idioms, images, and themes that have been used to craft the Throne Vision.

Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 [1981]: 588–90; Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 9–33; and n. 22 below).

[14] Dan 7.9–14 is, in all likelihood, later than 1 Enoch 12–16, so the linguistic similarities between the two are due to borrowing on the part of the author of Dan 7.

[15] See M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 146–52; Norman Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 297–323; H. Lundin Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1939), 110–16; Helge S. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn: Das Verhältnis von Hen 14 zu Dan 7," *ST* 38 (1984): 101–33 (esp. 104–13); Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 576–87; *1 Enoch 1*, 254–70; Christopher Rowland, "Things into Which the Angels Long to Look: Approaching Mysticism from the Perspective of the New Testament and the Jewish Apocalypses" in *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (ed. Pieter Willem van der Horst and Peter J. Tomson; CRINT III/12; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 76–80; James VanderKam, "Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 14/SEJC 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 96–125; reprinted in James C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002), 276–304.

[16] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 257–59.

1 ENOCH 14.8–25[17]	SOURCES
(8) And in the vision it was shown to me thus: Behold clouds in the vision were summoning me, and mist was crying out to me; and shooting stars and lightning flashes were hastening me and speeding me along;[18] and winds in my vision made me fly up and lifted me upward and brought me to heaven.	– saw + vision + behold: Ezek 1.1, 4 (cf. Isa 6.1) – clouds: Ezek 1.4, 28; 10.3–4 – clouds (νεφέλαι) + mist (ὁμίχλη): reflects the idiomatic expression ערפל + ענן found in Deut 4.11; 5.22; Ps 97.2; Joel 2.2; Zech 1.15 – shooting stars (זיקין): cf. Ps 148.3 (כוכבי אור)[19] – lightning flashes ([ב]רקין): Ezek 1.13–14 (cf. Exod 19.16)[20] – winds made me fly: Ezek 8.2–3 (cf. Ezek 1.4) – "made me fly": lit., "made me spread out [on wings]" (ἐξεπέτασάν) which reflects Ezek 1.7, 11, 23 (ישרות/פרדות). – wind/spirit lifted me up and brought me: Ezek 8.3; 11.1 (cf. Ezek 40.1–2; 2 Kgs 2.11)
(9) And I went in until I drew near to a wall built of hailstones[21]; and tongues of	– drew near wall . . . went in: Ezek 8.7,9[22] – wall + hailstones: Ezek 13.10–11,13 (cf. 38.22)

[17] Most of 1 Enoch 14.8–25, of course, does not exist in Aramaic. As such, I do not underline elements of the translation that are identified with a source text – as I did with GO and will do in the subsequent examples – because the locutions of 1 Enoch do not correspond exactly with locutions from of the source texts.

[18] 𝔊[a] reads ἐθορύβαζον, "were troubling me." Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 257) accepts Charles's reconstruction at this point (*Enoch*, 33).

[19] The phrase in Ps 148.8, כוכבי אור, is not an obvious parallel to Enoch's זיקין. The combination "fire + hail + snow" in 1 Enoch 14.10, however, only occurs in Ps 148.8. Taken together, these two pieces of evidence suggest that Ps 148 influenced the imagery of 1 Enoch 14.8–25.

[20] The pairing of "shooting stars," זיקין, with "lightning flashes," [ב]רקין, recurs in Targum Neofiti of Exod 20.2, 3, which, in its turn, was influenced by Ezek 1.13. The Greek translation rendering זיקין as διαστραπαί, obscures the allusion (see Nicklesburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 262).

[21] 𝔊[a] has, literally, "wall of a building of hailstones" (τείχους οἰκοδομῆς ἐν λίθοις χαλάζης). See discussion in Milik, *Enoch* 195, 198.

[22] The structure of the heavenly throne room in 1 Enoch 14 (an outer wall surrounding a house of sequential chambers) is almost certainly inspired by the temple construction described in 1 Kgs 6. See Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 14–16; J. Maier, "Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und 'Gnosis'," *Kairos* 5 (1963): 18–40, esp. 18–22; Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and Its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources," in *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (ed. Pieter Willem van der Horst and Peter J. Tomson; CRINT III/12; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 305–7.

1 Enoch 14.8–25	Sources
fire were encircling them all around; and they began to frighten me.	– fire encircling all around: Ezek 1.27 (tongue + fire: cf. Isa 30.27)[23] – images are frightening: Isa 6.6; Ezek 1.22, 28[24]
(10) And I went into the tongues of fire, and I drew near to great house built of hailstones; and the walls of this house were like stone slabs[25]; and they were all of snow and the floor was of snow.[26]	– tongues of fire: see Isa 30.27 (5.24) – brought me to … house: Ezek 8.14, 16; 11.1; 40.48 – great house (בית רב): 2 Kgs 25.9; 2 Chr 3.5 (בית גדול) – wall + hailstones: Ezek 13.10–11, 13 (cf. 38.22) – fire + hail + snow: Ps 148.8[27] – ascending though a house of hail and snow // firmament of ice in Ezek 1.22
(11) And the ceiling was like shooting stars and lightning flashes; and among them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was water	– bright ceiling: Ezek 1.22, 26; 10.1 – shooting stars (זיקין): Ps 148.3 (כוכבי אור) – lightning flashes: Ezek 1.13–14 (Exod 19.16) – fiery cherubim: Ezek 9.3; 10.1–22 (Gen 3.24) – watery heaven: Gen 1.6–7[28]

[23] In Ezek 1.27, a portion of the humanoid appearance of the כבוד is described with the following phrase: כמראה אש בית לה סביב, "like the appearance of fire, enfolding itself." 1 Enoch 14.8–14 recombines the individual terms in 1.27 (אש, בית, and סביב), without the idiomatic sense "enfolding itself." Nickelsburg argues for a connection to Ezek 40.5, here, but the imagery is more closely aligned with Ezek 1.27–28 (*1 Enoch 1*, 262).

[24] Nickelsburg also sees connections to Adam and Eve 28.4 in 1 Enoch 14.9. See his "Some Related Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the Books of *Adam and Eve*, and *1 Enoch*," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 2: *Sethian Gnosticism* (ed. Bentley Layton; HR 41/2; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 515–39, esp. 526–33. Text in E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World* (ed. J. Neusner; The Princeton/Bollingen Series in World Mythology 37; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 2: 181.

[25] The stone slabs are, perhaps, parallel to the paneling on the temple walls (1 Kgs 6.15; Ezek 41.15–17) or the slabs beneath the feet of the deity (Exod 24.10).

[26] The image of Enoch the righteous scribe (15.1) passing through a fiery veil to draw closer to the divine presence is remarkably like the supernatural scribe in Ezek 10.6–8 passing into the fire beneath the divine throne.

[27] The paradoxical construction of the house, being built of cold, wet elements (water/hail/snow) and of fire may well have been inspired by Ps 148.8 where God is exalted as the master of "fire and hail, snow and frost."

[28] The author of the Throne Vision derived his ceiling from Ezek 1.22, which, in turn, evoked Gen 1.6–7 by the shared term (רקיע). On the use of this image in later texts, see

1 ENOCH 14.8–25	SOURCES
(12) and a flaming fire encircled all their walls,[29] and the doors blazed with fire.	– fire encircled walls: Zech 2.5 – doors + fire: Jer 51.58
(13) And I went into that house – hot as fire and cold as snow; and no delight[30] of life was in it. Fear enveloped me and trembling seized me;	– house of fire: Ezek 1.27 – fire + snow: Ps 148.8 (cf. Ezek 1.22) – delight of life: Gen 3.6 (cf. Sir 14.16[31]) – seer terrified: Isa 6.5; Ezek 1.28
(14) and I was quaking and trembling, and I fell upon my face. And I saw in my vision,	– seer terrified: Isa 6.5; Ezek 1.28, 2.1 – fell on face: Ezek 1.28 – saw (vision) and behold: Ezek 1.4
(15) and behold another door was open before me: and a house greater than the former one; and it was built of tongues of fire.[32]	– tongues of fire: see Isa 30.27 (5.24); Ezek 1.13–14 – great house : 2 Kgs 25.9; 2 Chr 3.5 – house of fire: Ezek 1.27
(16) And all of it so excelled in glory and splendor and majesty that I am unable to describe for you its glory and majesty	– glory, splendor and majesty: Ps 21.5 (cf. Ezek 1.28; Dan 4.36) – indescribable: Ezek 1.26–28
(17) Its floor was of fire; and its upper part was flashes of lightning and shooting stars; and its ceiling was a flaming fire	– fire + flashes of lightning: Ezek 1.13–14 – upper part (ἀνώτερον): Ezek 1.11, 22, 26, 27; cf. 8.2; 10.19; 11.22 (מעלה)[33] – shooting stars (זיקין): Ps 148.3 (כוכבי אור) – bright ceiling: Ezek 1.22, 26; 10.1 (cf. 1 Kgs 6.21)
(18) And I was looking and I saw a lofty throne; and its appearance was like ice;	– "and I was looking and I saw": Ezek 1.4; 2.9; 8.2, 7, 10; 10.1, 9 (ארא + הנה)

Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, A *Transparent Illusion: The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticisim. A Source-Critical and Tradition-Historical Inquiry* (JSJSup 60; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002).

[29] "All," לבול, is reflected in 4QEnoch^{c} 16.25, but it is absent in 𝔊^{a}.

[30] 𝔊^{a} reads τρυφή, "delight," as τροφή, "food" (Charles, *Enoch*, 33; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 258).

[31] Cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 33.

[32] There is a discrepancy in the versions about the correct order of elements in this verse. See Charles, *Enoch*, 34; Milik, *Enoch*, 194, 196; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 258.

[33] This is another case of 1 Enoch borrowing verbiage from Ezek 1 but using it with a different meaning or referent (see n. 23).

1 Enoch 14.8–25	Sources
and its wheels were like the shining sun[34]; and its guardians[35] were cherubim,	– lofty throne: Isa 6.1 (LXX); Ezek 1.26; 10.1 – appearance of throne: Ezek 1.26; 10.1 (ספיר) // 1 Enoch 14.18 (κρυστάλλινον) – ice: Ezek 1.22, 26 – wheels: Ezek 1.15–21, 10.2, 6, 9–14 (cf. 1 Kgs 7.30) – shining like sun: Ezek 1.16; 10.15 (תרשיש) – guardians: Gen 3.24 (or Ezek 1.5–14) – cherubim: Ezek 1.5–14; 9.9; 10.1–22 (cf. Gen 3.24)
(19) and from beneath the throne issued streams of flaming fire. And I was unable to see.	– river flowing from the inner sanctum: Ezek 47.1–12 (cf. Zech 14.8) – river of burning fire: Ezek 1.4 (cf. 1.27–28) – fire under throne: Ezek 1.13 (cf. Ps 50.3–4) – seer unable to see: *Targ.* Ezek 1.27[36]
(20) And the Great Glory sat upon it; his raiment was like the appearance of the sun and whiter than much snow.	– Glory on the throne: Ezek 1.28; 10.4 (cf. 3.23; 9.3; 43.4; 44.4) – bright raiment like the sun, whiter than snow: Ezek 1.27 (cf. 1.4, 28; cf. Isa 6.1)
(21) And no angel could enter into this house and behold his face because of the splendor and glory; and no flesh could behold him	– cannot enter house: Ezek 10.2 (entering beneath throne) – could not look on his face: Exod 33.20; Isa 6.2 (*Targ.* Ezek 1.27); – splendor and glory: Ezek 1.28 – no flesh could behold him: Exod 33.20 (cf. Ezek 1.26)
(22) Flaming fire encircled him, and a great fire stood by him; and none of those about him approached him. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; but	– encircling fire: Ezek 1.27 – none approached him: Ezek 44.13, 15, 16; 45.4[38] – heavenly attendants: Ps 68.17; Isa 6.2;

[34] Milik suggests, "as the disk *of* the shining sun" (ὡς τρόχος ἡλίου λάμποντος in place of καὶ τρόχος ὡς ἡλίου λαμπόντος), occluding the wheels altogether (*Enoch*, 199–200) .

[35] Either the cherubim are "guardians" of the throne (reading οὗροι), or they are part of its structure (reading ὄροι, "boundaries"). The first corresponds with Gen 3.24; the latter corresponds with Ezek 1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 200; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 258).

[36] The Targum of Ezek 1.27 contains an expansion that corresponds closely to elements of 1 Enoch 14.19b–21: "The appearance of glory that the eye was unable to see and upon which it was impossible to look" (cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 34).

1 ENOCH 14.8–25	SOURCES
he needed no counselor; his every word was deed[37]	Ezek 1.5–14 (cf. Deut 33.2; 1 Kgs 22.19) – he has no need of any counselor: Isa 40.13–14 (cf. Sir 42.21[39]) – say and do/word and deed: 6x in Ezek[40]
(23) And the holy ones of the watchers[41] who approached him did not depart by night, nor by day[42] did they leave him.	– holy ones did not leave him: Ezek 1.19–21; 10.16–17 – attending the deity "by night" and "by day": Lev 8.35; I Chr 9.33 (cf. 1 Chr 23.30)[43]
(24) And I had been, until now, prostrate and trembling. And the Lord called me with his mouth and said to me, "Come here Enoch and hear my word."	– seer prostrate: Ezek 1.28 – Lord called to me and said: Ezek 1.28–2.3 (double reference to the divine voice // Ezek 1.27–2.2) – "Come . . . hear": 2.1
(25) And one of the holy ones came up to me and raised me up and stood me (on my feet) and brought me up to the door. But I had my face bowed down.	– "raised me up . . . stood me on my feet": Ezek 2.1–2 – "brought me to the door": Ezek 43.1 (see also 8.3, 7, 14; 40.35; 44.1)

The purpose of the Throne Vision is that Enoch be commissioned as a prophet. It is a particularly suitable moment for the author to render the story in biblical language, drawing lines of continuity between Enoch's experience and that of the biblical prophets and seers. The borrowed language and imagery is used to craft a new story, suitable to the book's

[38] This is a cultic expression in Ezekiel. It refers (negatively) to those banned from serving in the temple – even in the court of Israelites (44.13), or it refers (positively) to those permitted to serve in the temple – even within the inner sanctum (44.15, 16; 45.4).

[37] This is a double reading in Nickelsburg's translation (*1 Enoch 1*, 258). The clause "and he needed no counselor" only occurs in Ethiopic. The clause "his every word was deed" only occurs in 𝔊^{a}.

[39] V. 22bβ, καὶ οὐ προσεδεήθη οὐδενὸς συμγούλου // Sir 42.21, מבין ולא צריך לכל (cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 34), but the Throne Visions are older than Sirach (ca. 180–175 B.C.E.).

[40] Variations on "I have spoken (דבר) and I will do (עשה)" (spoken by God) are a staple of Ezekiel's idiolect, occurring in 12.25; 17.24; 22.14; 24.14; 36.36; 37.14. No other book uses the combination more than twice. (Ezekiel also is fond of the related summative expression, כי אני דברתי, "for I have spoken": 5.15, 17; 17.21, 24; 21.22, 37; 22.14; 23.34; 24.14; 26.5, 14; 28.10; 30.12; 34.24; 36.36; 37.14.)

[41] Ethiopic has a sub-class of angels here, "the holy ones of the holy ones" (*waqeddusāta qeddusān*).

[42] 𝔊^{a} and Ethiopic omit "nor by day."

[43] For this cultic expression, Nickelsburg also cites Josephus, *Ant.* 7.14.7 §367, and 1QS 6.6–12 (*1 Enoch 1*, 265–66).

unique arguments and themes.[44] Like GO, then, one of the author's principal purposes in borrowing is to create cohesion between the new composition and a wider body of traditional literature.[45]

The Throne Vision is particularly instructive for comparison with GO because it too is constructed upon a foundational text, in this case the call narrative/throne vision in Ezek 1–2. The elements borrowed from chapters 1–2 are supplemented by individual expressions and images adopted from a wide variety of other texts: Gen 1; Exod 33; Lev 8; 1 Kgs 22; Isa 6; Ezek 8–11, 13, 40–48; Zeph 3; Zech 14, Ps 68, and Ps 148. These source texts are, in several cases, thematically related to 1 Enoch 14, being call narratives, visions, or theophanies, but this is by no means the rule. The author draws freely from legal materials, oracles, psalms, and wisdom texts as well. The author also freely combines and adapts his sources. He creates new compilations of images. He blends images to create new pictures (e.g., 14.11, 19), and he borrows language that he uses with different meaning or effect (e.g., 14.8, 17). In all, 1 Enoch 14.8–25 is quite similar to GO in its composition. 1 Enoch 14.8–25 and GO are not the only Second Temple texts composed by pastiche. Pastiche was a familiar compositional technique in the Second Temple period, as the next two texts exemplify.

b. Temple Scroll (11QT) 59.2–13a

The Temple Scroll (11QT) is one of the previously unknown texts to emerge from the Qumran caves. It is a legal document, focused on matters of temple and cult, which portrays an idealized Israel centered around a new temple. The laws and prescriptions of 11QT are drawn from the Torah, recombined and rearranged to suit the new work. The provenance of 11QT is disputed, but it is certainly older than the community at Qumran, originating sometime after 350 B.C.E. and before 150 B.C.E.[46]

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[44] "Thus, in this case, various biblical models are exploited to produce a new text which is closely tied to larger themes in the books of Enoch" (VanderKam, "Biblical Interpretation," 289).

[45] After noting many similar acts of allusion in 1 Enoch, Alexander raises some pointed questions. "The exegetical model presupposes that the text being exegeted is in some sense authoritative. Are we prepared to accept this, given how *early* some strata of the Enochic corpus are? Our analysis indicates that the explicit allusions to Scripture generally grow stronger the later we come in the Enochic writings, but exegesis seems to be implicit right from the start. Was there, then, some canon of authoritative Scripture for the author of the Book of the Heavenly luminaries, even in the fourth century BCE?" ("The Enochic Literature and the Bible: Intertextuality and its Implications," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* [ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002], 64–65).

[46] The manuscript of 11QT is dated, on paleographic grounds, to turn of the era; see García Martínez, "Temple Scroll," *EDDS* 2:932; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple*

The last major section of the scroll, columns 52–66, are a rewriting of portions of Deuteronomy, mainly chapters 12–23. The laws in 59.2–13a itemize the curses that will fall upon the king and the people, if the king does not properly observe the Torah. The underlined elements in the 11QT column are borrowed locutions. A dotted underline indicates that the original locution was altered or adapted to fit the new context and readership.

	11QT[47]	MT	SOURCES
-2	ויבזרום בארצות רבות		
	והיו לשמה למשל ולשנינה	והיית לשמה למשל ולשנינה	Deut 28.37
	ובעול כבד	על כבד	1 Kgs 12.11
-3	ובחסור כול	ובחסר כל	Deut 28.48[48]
	ועבדו שמה אלוהים מעשי ידי אדם	ועבדתם שם אלהים משה ידי אדם עץ ואבן	Deut 4.28[49]
	עץ ואבן כסף	עצביהם כסף וזהב משה ידי אדם	Ps 115.4
-4	וזהב ובכול זה יהיו ערוכמה	ונתתי את־עריכם חרבה	Lev 26.31
	לשומה ולשרקה ולחורבה והיו	לשמה ולשרקה ולחרבות	Jer 25.9–10
-5	אויביהמה שוממים במה	ושממו על יה איביכם	Lev 26.32
	וחמה בארצות אויביהמה מתאנחים	ויאנחו בני ישראל מן העבדה ויזעקו	Exod 2.23

Scroll and Related Texts (CQS 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 12–16. On the original date of 11QT, see Émile Puech, "4QRouleau du Temple," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (ed. E. Puech; DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 87; García Martínez, "Temple Scroll," *EDDS* 2:931–41; Dwight Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STJD 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 237–39.

[47] Text and translation from Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983), 2: 266–68.

[48] Lines 2–3 paraphrase Deut 28.48. "Therefore you shall serve (ועבדת) your enemies whom Yhwh will send against you, in hunger and thirst, in nakedness and lack of everything (ובחסר כל). He will put an iron yoke (על ברזל) on your neck until he has destroyed you."

[49] Yadin identifies this clause with Deut 28.36 (ועבדת שם אלהים אחרים עץ ואבן), but the lemma from Deut 4.28 is a near-perfect match with 11QT 59.3.

	11QT	MT	SOURCES
-6	ומזעיקים מפני עגל כבד	יקראו ולא אשמע	Zech 7.13
	וקראו ולוא אשמע	הכבדת עלך מאד	Isa 47.6
	וזעקו ולוא אענה	וזעקו אלי ולא אשמע אליהם	Jer 11.11
-7	ואוחמה מפני רוע מעלליהמה	מפני רע מעלליהם	Jer 21.12
	ואסתיר פני מהמה	ואסתר פני מהם	Ezek 39.23[50]
	והיו לאוכלה	יען היות צאני . . . לאכלה	Ezek 34.8
-8	ולבז ולמשוסה	לבז ולמשסה	2 Kgs 21.14
	ואין מושיע מפני רעתמה	ואין מושיע	Deut 28.29
	אשר הפרו בריתי	אשר המה הפרו את בריתי	Jer 31.32[51]
-9	ואת תורתי געלה נפשמה	ואת חקתי געלה נפשם	Lev 26.43
	עד יאשמו כול אשמה	עד אשר יאשמו ובקשו פני	Hos 5.15
	אחר ישובו	אחר ישבו	Hos 3.5
-10	אלי בכול לבבמה ובכול נפשמה	בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך	Deut 4.29
	בכול דברי התורה הזואת	את כל דברי התורה הזאת	Deut 17.19
-11	והושעתים מיד אויביהמה	והושיעם מיד איביהם	Judg 2.18
	ופדיתיו מכף שונאיהמה	ופדתיך מכף ערצים	Jer 15.21
	והביאותים	והבאתי אתכם אל אדמת ישראל	Ezek 20.42 (34.13; 36.24)
-12	לארץ אבותיהמה	אל ארץ אבתיכם	Gen 48.21
	ופדיתים והרביתים	פדיתים ורבו כמו רבו	Zech 10.8
	וששתי עליהמה	ישיש יהוה עליכם	Deut 28.63
-13	והייתי להמה לאלוהים	והייתי לכם לאלהים	Lev 26.12[52]
	והמה יהיו לי לעם	ואתם תהיו לי לעם	

[50] The expression "hide my face" is not uncommon in the HB (see Deut 31.17–18); but the phrase represented here appears to be influenced by Ezek 34 where God's rejection of Israel resulted in the people becoming food (לאכל; cf. Jer 23.1–8).

[51] The expression "break the covenant," פרר (*hiphil*) + ברית (as object) occurs four times in the Torah (Lev 26.15, 44; Deut 31.16, 20; cf. Ezek 16.59), but the exact expression represented in 11QT 59.8 is found only in Jer 31.32.

(2) [and] they will scatter them in many countries, and they will become a horror, a proverb and a byword, and with a heavy yoke (3) and a want of all things, and there they will serve gods, the work of men's hands, of wood and stone, silver (4) and gold. And in all this (time) their cities will become a waste, a hissing and a desolation, and their (5) enemies will devastate them. And in the land of their enemies they (will) groan (6) and cry out because of a heavy yoke, and they will call, and I will not hear; and they will cry out, and I will not answer (7) them because of their evil doings. And I will hide my face from them, and they will become food (8) and prey and spoil, and there will be no one to help because of their wickedness by breaking my covenant (9) and spurning my law, until they will be guilty of all sins. Then they will return (10) to me with all their heart and with all their soul, according to all the words of this law. (11) And I will save them from the hand of their enemies, and deliver them from the hand of those who hate them, and I will bring them (12) to the land of their fathers, and I will deliver them, and I will multiply them, and I will take delight over them, (13a) and I will be their God, and they will be my people.

It is immediately clear, just from scanning the lines, that 11QT 59.2–13a is constructed almost entirely from locutions borrowed from a wide variety of source texts in the Torah, Prophets, and Psalms (Gen 48, Exod 2; Lev 26; Deut 4, 17; Judg 2; 1 Kgs 12; 2 Kgs 21; Isa 47; Jer 11, 15, 21, 25, 31; Ezek 27, 34, 39; Hos 3, 5; Zech 7, 10; Ps 115). By creatively recombining these locutions the author has produced an original document. The author's skill is evident in the fact that he has accomplished this feat without creating obvious tensions between his sources. The new text is not only original, it is largely cohesive and coherent. In his study of compositional techniques employed by the authors of the Temple Scroll, Stephen Kaufman identified portions of the scroll as *mosaics*, "composed of tiny fragments from a large number of biblical sources." According to Kaufman, the author used this technique to produce a new composition in the biblical style.[53] This is an apt description, which suits GO just as well.

11QTemple 59.2–13a is similar to GO in another way. It too is based upon a single foundational text, the covenant curses in Deut 28.15–68. 11QT 59.2–13a is an abbreviation of the covenant curses, being less than one-fifth the size of its counterpart in Deut 28. At the same time, ironically, it is an expansion of Deut 28. By recombining locutions from Deut

[52] The covenant formula is common in the HB, but, in this case, 11QT likely derived it from Lev 26.12. This judgment is based on the number of locutions in col. 59 borrowed from Lev 26.

[53] Stephen Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 39. Reflecting on the relationship of this technique to biblical compositions, Kaufman wrote: "The existence of this type of construction raises an interesting question. Has any literary critic ever been bold enough to suggest that in a biblical text several verses long each and every phrase comes from a different source? Doubtful indeed. Yet the presence of this kind of conflation in the Temple Scroll, albeit rare, suggests that there could well be biblical texts composed in a similar fashion."

28 with locutions from many other biblical texts – some thematically related to Deut 28, some not – the author invites the reader to combine and conflate his sources, creating a meta-text that is more expansive than Deut 28 alone.

Deuteronomy 28 supplied locutions used in lines 2, 3, 8, and 12. Deuteronomy 28 also established the topics of column 59, even though the author chose, in most cases, to express those topics using locutions from other sources. So, for example, the curse against dwelling places in Israel (lines 4–5) appears in Deut 28.16 and 25 but is expressed in language drawn from Lev 26.31–32 and Jer 25.9–10. The promise to make the people "food and prey and spoil" (lines 7–8) was inspired by Deut 28.26 but expressed in the language Ezek 34.8 and 2 Kgs 21.14. Even the metaphor of punishment as a "heavy yoke" (line 6) originates in Deut 28.48, but is rendered using a locution from Isa 47.6. In other words, the author of 11QT 59.2–13a has done much more than just mimic the style of his sources.[54] By recombining borrowed locutions and by expressing the topics or arguments of Deut 28 in the language of other texts, the author has conflated his sources and mated his new composition with that wider body of biblical literature. This creative hermeneutical operation, it will be argued, was also at work in the creation of GO.

c. Hodayot (1QH^a)11.6–19

Among the scrolls first discovered in 1947 near Khirbet Qumran was a collection of thanksgiving hymns, preserving all or parts of twenty-five psalms. They were designated the "Hodayot" in accord with the clause which opens each poem, אודכה אדנ/אלי, "I give thanks to you, O Lord/O my God."[55] The importance of these poems to the community at Qumran

[54] On the composition of 11QT see, most notably, Gershon Brin, "המקדש המקרא במגלת," *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 4 (1980): 182–225; idem, "Concerning Some of the Uses of the Bible in the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 519–28; Phillip Calloway, "Extending Divine Revelation: Micro-Compositional Strategies in the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 149–62; Kaufman, "Temple Scroll"; Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 123–48; Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*; Andrew Wilson and Lawrence Wills, "Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll," *HTR* 75/3 (1982): 275–88.

[55] Original publication: Eleazar L. Sukenik, מגילות גנוזות מקירה רישונה (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1948); מגילות גנוזות מקירה שנייה (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1950); *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University,* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955).

was confirmed when fragments of a second copy of the Hodayot were identified in cave 1 (1QH[b]) and fragments of six more emerged in cave 4 (4Q427–31). The Hodayot were, in all likelihood, composed by the covenanters early in their history, during the last decades of the second century B.C.E.[56]

One of the most notable things about 1QH[a] 11.6–19 is its pregnant biblicism. The poem is rife with words and phrases borrowed from a variety of biblical sources. The importance of this fact was overshadowed, for a time, by a debate regarding the poem's potential messianism.[57] Beginning with Svend Holm-Nielson's 1960 monograph, the "biblical" features of the Hodayot began to receive the attention they deserved.[58] A number of studies of scriptural reuse in 1QH[a] 11.6–19 have since appeared, none more detailed than those of Christopher Frechette and Julie Hughes.[59] Both Fre-

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[56] See Eileen M. Schuller, "Hodayot," in *Qumran Cave 4, XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. Esther Chazon, et. al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 129–30; Émile Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS* 2:365–68.

[57] When it was first published, Hodayot 11:6–19 caused a stir in the academic community on account of its supposed messianism. André Dupont-Sommer, one of the first to argue the point, claimed that the psalm reflected a pre-Christian Jewish "myth concerning the mother of the messiah" (André Dupont-Sommer, "La mère du Messie et la mère de l'Aspic dans un hymne de Qoumrân," *RHR* 147 [1955]: 174–88; also J. V. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm," *JNES* 14 [1955]: 32–41; "Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran," *JNES* 14 [1955]: 181–82). Soon after, Lou Silberman and Glenn Hinson asserted the opposite, that the poem contained no messianic content at all (Lou H. Silberman, "Language and Structure in the Hodayot (IQH3)," *JBL* 75 [1956]: 96–106; Glenn Hinson, "Hodayoth III, 6–18: In What Sense Messianic?" *RevQ* 2 [1959–1960]: 183–204. See also Schuyler Brown, "Deliverance from the Crucible: Some Further Reflections on 1QH3.1–18," *NTS* 14 [1967–1968]: 247–59). This debate waxed and waned for over a decade, before a consensus opinion was achieved. Current consensus holds that that 1QH[a] 11.6–19 is an individual psalm of complaint, expressing a sudden onset of some personal crisis through birth imagery (See, e.g., J. J. Collins, "Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran," in *Traditions in Transformation, Turning Points in Biblical Faith* [ed. Baruch Halperin and Jon Levenson; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981], 369; Silberman, "Language and Structure," 104–6; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis*, 206–7). The imagery is complex and contains a fundamental irony: giving birth is pain, and pain is death.

[58] Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan II; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I Aarhus, 1960).

[59] Christopher G. Frechette, SJ, "Chiasm, Reversal and Biblical Reference in 1QH 11.3–18," *JSP* 21 (2000): 71–102; Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 185–207. Other studies that give attention to scriptural reuse in 11QH[a] 11,6-19 include: J. Baumgarten and M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) II," *JBL* 74 (1955): 188–95; Jean Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament, et spécialement des poèms du Serviteur, dans les Hymnes de Qumran," *RevQ* 2/7 (1960): 357–94; M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot): Texte hébreu, Introduction, Traduction, Commentaire* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 109–24; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 51–64;

chette and Hughes highlight the great variety of sources from which the author of 1QH[a] 11.6–19 borrowed linguistic and imagistic material. In the end, each of them points to one particular source as the principal inspiration for the poem, one literary progenitor, which dictated the poem's language and themes. For Frechette, the primary source text was 1 Sam 4.18–22; for Hughes it was 2 Sam 22.2–20.[60] Although I do not agree with either of these suggestions, Frechette and Hughes have made two important observations. The author's reuse of Scripture is the key to understanding the compositional design of 1QH[a] 11.6–19, and the author does not use sources in equal measure.

The following chart presents the text of 1QH[a] 11.6–19 in parallel with a catalogue of the most distinctive of its borrowed locutions. Certain common biblical expressions, which cannot be identified with a specific source, are underlined with a dashed line.

SOURCES	MT	1QH[a] 11.6–19[61]
		vacat 6.
		אודכה אדוני כיא
1 Kgs 17.24	בפיך אמת	אמ]ת פיכה
		ותצילני מ[סוד שוא]
Pss 72.13; 109.31	oppressed + נפש + ישע	ומ[ ]ים 7. [חוש]עתה נפש[י
Ps 107.24	באונות + במצולה	כיא לחרפה וקל]ס יחשובוני
Jonah 2.4	מצולה (בלבב) ימים[62]	וישימו נפש[י] כאוניה[63]
		במצול]ות ים

Menahem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STJD 3; Leiden: Brill, 1961); and Silberman, "Language and Structure."

[60] "[T]he key events of this narrative and the event that sets it in motion allude to 1 Sam 4.18–22 and reverses its tragic tone in order to show that the glory of God has not departed but, rather, is actively present as *pele' yô'ēṣ*" (Frechette, "Chiasm," 95). "I suggest that there is an overall structural allusion to David's psalm of thanksgiving for deliverance, found in 2 Sam 22:2–20" (Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 200).

[61] Hebrew text from Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, translation of texts by Carol Newsom, *1QHodayot[a]: With Incorporation of 1QHodayot[b] and 4QHodayot[a-f]* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 144–45. The translation below is adapted from, ibid. 154–55.

[62] מצולה also occurs in Mic 7.19, Ps 68.23, and Job 41.23. I think the immediate source was Jonah 2.4, as discussed below, but sea language of Job 41.23 has also colored the poem (see line 16).

[63] The expression "to make a person like" (כ- + נפש + שים) is not a typical biblical expression, occurring only once, in 1 Kgs 19.2. In the HB, שים + נפש occurs most often accompanied by ב- + כף in the expression "to take a life in (one's) hands" (e.g., Judg 12.3; 1 Sam 19.5; 28.21; Job 13.14).

1QH[a] 11.6–19	MT	SOURCES
8. וכעיר מבצר[65] מלפנ[צר][64]	מעיר מבצר	1 Sam 6.18
ואהיה בצוקה	צרה וצוקה	Prov 1.27
כמו אשת לדה מבכריה	צרה כמבכירה + כמו אשת לדה	Jer 4.31 + 13.21
כיא נהפכו צירים	נהפכו על יה צריה	1 Sam 4.19
9. וחבל נמרץ על משבריה	חבל וחבל נמרץ	Mic 2.10
להחיל בכור הריה	חבל ,משבריך	Jer 13.21, Jonah 2.4
כיא באו בנים עד משברי מות	מים יחילו + תהמות[66]	Ps 77.17
	משברי מות	2 Sam 22.5
10. והרית גבר הצרה בחבליה	גבר + אשה מצרה	Jer 48.41 = 49.22
כיא במשברי מות	משברי מות	2 Sam 22.5
תמליט זכר	המליטה זכר	Isa 66.7
ובחבלי שאול יגיח	חבלי שאול	2 Sam 22.6; Ps 18.6
	חולי וגחי . . . כיולדה	Mic 4.10
11. מכור הריה		
פלא יועץ עם גבורתו	פלא יועץ אל גבור	Isa 9.5
ויפלט גבר ממשברים בהריה	משבריך	Jonah 2.4
החישו בול 12. משברים	כל משבריך	Jonah 2.4
וחבלי מרץ במולדיהם	חבלי יולדה ... משבר	Hos 13.13
ופלצות להורותם	נהפכו על יה צריה	1 Sam 4.19
ובמולדיו יהפכו כול צירים	צרה	Jonah 2.3
13. בכור הריה		
והרית אפעה לחבל נמרץ	אפעה	Isa 59.5
	וחבל נמרץ	Mic 2.10
ומשברי שחת לכול מעשי פלצות	משבריך ,תהום	Jonah 2.4, 6

[64] The lacuna is 3–4 letters in length. Either צר/צריו (e.g., Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot[a]*, 149) or אויב (e.g., Delcor, *Hymnes*, 110) could fit here.

[65] עיר מבצר, "fortified city" is a common expression in the HB, occurring nineteen times, but the simile "like a fortified city" does not occur (cf. Jer 20.16).

[66] Ps 77.16 combines images of water and pain using vocabulary that is similar to 11QH[a] 11.6–19. Further evidence that the author of 11QH[a] 11.6–19 borrowed from Ps 77 is offered at line 14.

1QH[a] 11.6–19	MT	Sources
ויריעו .14 אושי קיר		
כאוגיה על פני מים	התבה על פני המים	Gen 7.18
ויהמו שחקים בקול המון	קול נתנו שחקים	Ps 77.18
ויושבי עפר .15 כיורדי ימים	ישב + עפר	Isa 26.19
	יורדי הים (באניות)	Ps 107.23
נבעתים מהמון מים	המון מים	Jer 10.13 (= 51.16)
וחכמיה[כ] למו[67] כמלחים במצולות	מצולה (בלבב ימים)	Jonah 2.4
כי תתבלע .16 בול חכמתם בהמות ימים	וכל חכמתם התבלע	Ps 107.27
	המון מים	Jer 10.13 (= 51.16)
ברתוח תהומות על נבובי מים	ירתיח + מצולה[68]	Job 41.23
	נבכי ים	Job 38.16
ויתגרשו לרום גלים	ותרומם גליו	Ps 107.25
17. ומשברי מים בהמון קולם	משברי ים + קול מים	Ps 93.4
ובהתרגשם יפתתו[69]	קול + המון מים	Jer 10.13 (= 51.16)
ש[או]ל [וא]בד[ון]	שאול ואבדון	Prov 15.11
ו]כול חצי שחת .18 עם מצעדם	שחת, תהום	Jonah 2.6, 7
לתהום ישמיעו קולם	שמע + קול + מן + שאול	Jonah 2.3
ויפתחו שערי[ן] עולם	פתחי עולם	Ps 24.7, 9
תח]ה[70] מעשי אפעה	שערי מות	Ps 107.18; Job 38.17
	אפעה	Isa 59.5
19. ויסגרו דלתי שחת	שחת	Jonah 2.7
בעד הרית עול	סגר + דלת + בעד	Isa 26.20; 2 Kgs 4.4, 5, 33[71]

[67] Stegemann and Schuller reconstruct וחכמיה[כ] למו "their sages are for them" (*1QHodayot[a]*, 150), whereas previous editions have וחכמיה [כ]למו, "the wise, all of them."

[68] See line 7 and note 62.

[69] The locution ובהתרגשם יפתחו is unknown in HB, but similar expressions abound. See, e.g., the following: שאול + רגז (Isa 14.9); שאול + פער (Isa 5.14); שאול + רחב (Hab 2.5).

[70] The lacuna here is 8–10 letters in length. Stegemann and Schuller read שערי [עולם] תח]ת מעשי, "the eternal bars [benea]th the works…" (ibid., 150). Other suggestions include שערי [שאול] לכול (// Isa 38.10), שערי [מות] (// col. 14.27), or שערי [שאול ל]מעשי.

[71] Cf. Job 3.10, סגר + דלת (בטן).

SOURCES	MT	1QH[a] 11.6–19
Jonah 2.7	ארץ ברחיה בעדי עולם	וברחי עולם
Isa 59.5	אפעה	בעד כול רוחי[72] אפעה

vacat 20.

(6) [*vacat*
I thank you O Lord, that] your command is truth
and that you delivered me from [a worthless council]
and from[ ]*ym* (7) you have saved my life
[For] they regard me [as a reproach and a deris]ion
and make my life like a ship on the [d]epths of the sea
(8) and like a city fortified before[the enemy]
I was in distress,
like a woman giving birth to her firstborn,[73]
When pangs overcome
(9) and painful labour upon her womb opening
causing spasms in the crucible of the pregnant woman.
For children come to the womb opening of death
(10) and she who is pregnant with a manchild is convulsed by her birth pains.
For in the breakers of death,
she delivers a male,
And in the cords of Sheol[74] there bursts forth
(11) from the crucible of the pregnant woman
A wonderful counselor with his power;
and the manchild is delivered from the breakers by the one who is pregnant with him.
All (12) wombs hasten,
and there are severe labor pains at their births,
and shuddering for those pregnant with them.
And so at his birth all these pains come
(13) upon the crucible of the pregnant one.
But she who is pregnant with venomous vanity[75] (will be subject) to painful labor
and the womb opening of the pit to all the works of terror.
And (14) the foundations of the wall groan
like a ship upon the surface of the waters
and the clouds thunder with tumultuous noise.

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[72] The expression (ם)כול רוחי is common in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (see. Jer 49.32, 36; Ezek 5.10, 12; 21.12).

[73] The unexpected, recurring metaphor for the womb כור, "crucible" (lines 9, 11, 13), is a pun on בכור, "firstborn" (line 8). To effect the pun, כור is always written with a preposition attached (מכור/בכור, "in/from the crucible"). See Baumgarten and Mansoor, "Hodayot II," 190; Silberman, "Language and Structure," 101–3.

[74] The expression, חבלי שאול, "bonds of Sheol," is a pun on חבל, "labor pains" (lines 9, 12, 13).

[75] The translation "venomous vanity" for אפעה was first suggested by Frechette ("Chiasm," 99–100) and subsequently adopted by Carol Newsom for the English translation of 1QH[a] in DJD 40:154–55. See also Silberman, 104.

The dwellers in the dust (15) are like those who go down in the seas
terrified by the roar of the waters.
And their sages are for them like sailors on the deeps
for all their (16) wisdom is swallowed up by the tumult of the seas.
When the deeps boil up over the sources of the waters,
the waves surge up on high
(17) and the breakers of water with their noisy roar
And as they surge, they open up
Sh[eo]l [and Abaddon]
[and al]l the arrows of the pit (18) with their retinue.
They make their sound heard in the deep,
and break open the [eternal] gates
[benea]th the works of venomous vanity.
(19) And the doors of the pit close
behind the one who is pregnant with iniquity,
and the eternal bars (close)
behind all the spirits of venomous vanity.
(20) *vacat*

Hodayot 11.6–19 is constructed, in the main, from biblical locutions and variation on biblical locutions. Examining the sources of the distinctive locutions, those which can be positively identified with a source text, is telling. A number of them share one or more of the poem's three dominant themes (life, death, or sea images): Jonah 2.3–7; Pss 77.16–17; 107.23–27; Isa 66.7; Jer 10.13; Job 36.16–17; Job 41.23. Three of these sources appear to have dictated much of the poem's vocabulary: Jonah 2.3–7; Ps 77.16–17; and Ps 107.23–27. However, the author has altered the elements borrowed from them, which makes them less identifiable.[76]

Jonah 2.3–7, though a mere five verses, is the largest source. It contributed significantly to the poem's language because it manifests all three of the author's chosen focal themes: birth, death, and sea.

JONAH 2.3–10 [ENG. 2.2–9]		1QH[a] 11.6–19	
"distress" צרה	3	"distress," צוקה/"pangs," ציר	8, 12
שמע + קול + מן + צרה/שאול voice heard from distress/Sheol	3	שמע + קול + ל + תהום make voice heard unto deeps	18
"womb of Sheol" בטן שאול	3	"Sheol," שאול	10, 17
מצולה בלבב ימים "deep, in heart of the seas"	4	מצולות ים "depths of sea,"	7, 15

[76] It is important to stress that I am only speaking about these three texts in this regard. The author has reused certain locutions, like the locution from Isa 9.5 (line 10), that are clearly evocative of their sources. These are, to my mind, deliberate allusions.

JONAH 2.3–10 [ENG. 2.2–9]		1QH[a] 11.6–19	
כל משבריך "all your the breakers"	4	(כל) משבר[77] "(every) birth canal/breakers,"	7x
משבריך וגליך (your) breakers and waves	4	גלים ומשברי "waves and breakers"	16
		1QH[a] 11.6–19	
"deep," תהום	6	"deep," תהום	16, 18
"descended," ירד	7	"descended," ירד	15
ארץ ברחיה בעדי עולם the earth, its bars around me forever	7	בריחי עולם בעד "the eternal bars behind…"	19
"pit," שחת	7	"pit," שחת	13, 17, 19

There are two locutions that are particularly distinctive of Jonah 2.3–7, which reappear in 1QH[a] 11.6–19. (1) The combination שחת + עולם + בעד + ברחיה (v. 7) is broken up and its constituents redistributed in lines 13, 17, 19. (2) The expression משבריך גליך, "(your) breakers and waves" (v. 4) appears inverted in 11QH[a] 11.16 and 18 as גלים ומשברי, "waves and breakers." Most of the other locutions from Jonah 2.3–7 that are reused in 1QH[a]11.6–19 are individual words. They are clustered most heavily around the beginning and the end of 1QH[a] 11.6–19.[78]

This practice of breaking up and reformulating locutions is also evident in the author's use of the other two thematically-related texts: Ps 77.17–18 and Ps 107.23–27.[79]

[77] The poem contains an elaborate wordplay between משבר, "womb opening" (lines 9 [bis], 12, 13) and משברים, "breakers" (lines 10, 11, 17). It is not always readily apparent which translation (if either) is intended in a given case.

[78] Minor similarities like these are not notable enough, in themselves, to indicate reuse, but once reuse has been established they can help establish the parameters of the reused material. See Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 105–28; also, Kronfeld, "Allusion," 146–51; Coobs, "Allusion," 481; Leddy, "Limits of Allusion," 112.

[79] I have argued elsewhere that Isa 66.7; Jer 10.13; Job 36.16–17 and Job 41.23 also affected the themes and vocabulary of 1QH[a] 11.6–19 as a whole. See William A. Tooman, "Between Imitation and Interpretation: Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in 1QHodayot 11:6–19," *DSD* 18/1 (2011): 54–73.

PSALM 77.17–18	1QH[a] 11.6–19
17. When the waters (מים) saw you, O God,	ים/מים – lines 6, 7, 16 (3x), 17
when the waters saw you, they	להחיל – line 9
quaked (מים יחילו)	תהמות – lines 16, 18
the very deep trembled (תהמות)[80]	ים/מים – lines 6, 7, 16 (3x), 17
18. The clouds poured out water (מים);	ויהמו שחקים בקול המון – line 14
the skies thundered (קול נתנו שחקים);	חצי – line 17
your arrows (חצציך) flashed on every side.	

The locution שחקים + נתן + קול is unique to Ps 77.18. The author of 1QH[a] borrowed the expression but inverted the two nouns (שחקים + קול > קול + שחקים), changed the verb (נתן > חמה), and relocated the object (קול) in a prepositional phrase. The other locutions borrowed from Ps 77:17–18, all individual words, were redistributed across twelve lines of text.

PSALM 107.23–27	1QH[a] 11.6–19
23. Some went down to the sea in ships (יורדי הים באניות),	ביורדי ימים, באוניה – lines 7, 15
doing business on the mighty waters (מים);	ים/מים – lines 6, 7, 16 (3x), 17
24. they saw the deeds of Yhwh,	
his wondrous works in the deep (נפלאותיו במצולה).	פלא, מצולה – lines 7, 11, 15
25. For he spoke and raised the stormy wind,	
which lifted up the waves (ותרומם גליו)	לרום גלים – line 16
26. They mounted up to heaven,	תהמות – lines 16, 18
they went down to the depths (תהומות);	משבר (pun on שכור?) – lines 9 (2x), 10, 11, 12, 13, 17
their courage melted away in their calamity;	
27. they reeled and staggered like drunkards (שכור),	וכל חכמתם תתבלע – lines 15–16
and all their wisdom was swallowed up (וכל חכמתם תתבלע)	

The most distinctive marker of this source is the expression וכל חכמתם תתבלע (v. 27). It is repeated verbatim in lines 15–16. The other evocative expressions borrowed by the author of 1QH[a] were altered in the new composition. The phrase יורדי הים באניות (v. 23), was broken into two parts and the elements were separated by seven intervening lines of text (lines 7, 15). The unique clause ותרומם גליו ("and it lifted its waves") was revised into a subordinate infinitive clause ("to lift the waves", line 16). The other elements of Ps 107.23–27, which also appear in 1QH[a] 11.6–19, were dispersed across thirteen lines.

After examining all of the examples of scriptural reuse in the Hodayot that were identified by Jean Carmignac[81] and Sven Holm-Nielsen, Bonnie

[80] Ps 77.16 combines images of water and pain using vocabulary that is similar to 11QH[a] 11.6–19.

Kittel noted the following features of the "biblical language" in the Hodayot:[82]

1. Many of the quotations[83] consist of only one or two words, and frequently the two words used in the Hodayot come from different parts of the biblical verse cited.
2. Both Camignac and Holm-Nielsen frequently admit that in the case of these one- and two-word "quotations" the context and meaning of the words employed in the Hodayot has changed considerably.
3. In a number of cases, a "quotation" is actually an idiom occurring several times in the OT. Holm-Nielsen frequently has trouble deciding which passage is "quoted" by the poet in these cases – a sure sign that no passage is quoted at all.
4. In most cases, the Hodayot passage [that is] considered a quotation employs different forms of the verb, and different pronominal suffixes, and stands in syntactic relationships quite different from the biblical passage.

These observations are entirely accurate with respect to Jonah 2.3–7, Pss 77.17–18, and 107.23–27. Most of the locutions borrowed by the author of 1QH[a] 11.6–19 are individual words. In the case of borrowed phrases, all of them are broken up (e.g., מצולה בלבב ימים) and/or reformulated morphologically (e.g., משבריך גליך).[84] In effect, the language of 1QH[a] 11.6–19 is remarkably close to the language of all three source texts, but only one clause from any of the three is repeated in the target text verbatim (וכל חכמתם תתבלע, Ps 107.27 // 1QH[a] 11.15–16).

Despite the importance of these three sources for the composition of 1QH[a] 11.6–19, they are difficult to recognize as sources. They are difficult to identify because of the techniques used by the author to incorporate their linguistic material into the new poem. More specifically, the author restricted the borrowing, in most cases, to individual words. When the author did borrow a particularly distinct or evocative phrase or clause, it was

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[81] Jean Carmignac, "Remarques sur le texte des Hymnes de Qumrân," *Biblica* 39 (1958): 139–55; "Localisation des fragments 15, 18 et 22 des Hymnes," *RevQ* 1 (1958–1959): 425–30; "Compléments au texte des Hymnes de Qumrân," *RevQ* 2 (1959–60): 267–76, 549–58; and especially "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament," 357–94.

[82] Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (SBLDS 50; Chico: Scholars, 1981), 49.

[83] Kittel recognizes that "quotation" is not an appropriately accurate label for every borrowed locution. She discusses this point at length on pages 48–52. The nomenclature in this quote need not detract from her point.

[84] Reformulation is, of course, necessary to marry the reused material to its new context. When reformulation occurs, however, with very small locutions, only one or two words in length, it makes them less evocative of their original context.

altered in the target text in such a way that identifying the source was made more difficult. The outcome of this compositional technique was to create a new text that, on the one hand, reflected biblical expression and biblical style, and, on the other hand, dissolved many linkages to its sources. In effect, $1QH^a$ 11.6–19 sounds like many texts and no text.

Though fundamentally different from GO in its methods and motives of scriptural reuse, $1QH^a$ 11.6–19 is remarkably similar in its design. It makes extensive use of three source texts (Jonah 2.3–7; Ps 77.17–18, and Ps 107.23–27) that correspond with the poem's main tropes and vocabulary. These three texts dictate much of the poem's content. The author, though, does not limit himself to elements from these foundational source texts, but draws additional locutions from a wide range of texts from the Torah, DtrH, Prophets, wisdom, and poetry. In the end, the majority of the poem's phrases and clauses are derivative. It is composition by recombination.

d. Conclusions

Although virtually unknown in the HB, examples like these three (1 Enoch 14.8–25, 11QT 59.2–13a, $1QH^a$ 11.6–19) are not as rare as scholars once imagined. Within Second Temple Jewish literature, there are many examples of texts composed from fragments of preexisting Scriptures, texts like 4QCatena and 4QFlorilegium as well as portions of the 1 Enoch, the Temple Scroll, Damascus Document, Jubilees, 11QMelchizedek, 4QPseudo-Ezekiel, 4QPseudo-Jeremiah, and the 4QSongs of Sabbath Sacrifice (to name just a few).[85] Nor is the technique limited to Second Temple literature. It persists for centuries, as is evidenced by its continuing use in the versions. The expansions to Ezek 36 in the MT and LXX^B (36.23c–38) and the deliverance oracle in Ezek 37.24–28, for example, are composed in a similar fashion.[86] The point here is that pastiche, though rare in the HB, is a well-established literary form by the second half of the Second Temple period.[87] Its earliest datable examples, the prayer of Daniel (Dan 9.4b–19)

[85] This is not to suggest that all these texts are identical in genre or compositional style. There is a wide range of techniques for reusing Scripture in all these texts. See, for example, the excellent survey by George Brooke, "Thematic Commentaries on Prophetic Scriptures," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 134–57.

[86] See Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40," 518–25; "Major Divergences," 89–90; Tov, "Recensional Differences," 99–101. For further examples within Ezekiel see William Tooman, "Covenant and Presence in the Composition and Theology of Ezekiel," in *Divine Presence and Absence in Persian Period Judaism*, ed. Nathan MacDonald and Izaak J. de Hulster (FAT II; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), forth-coming.

[87] There are also many thematic compositions among the DSS, texts composed of or inspired by scriptural sources on a select theme or themes. Some of these contain portions of pastiche, others do not. See J. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumrân sur Mel-

and Enoch's Throne Vision (1 Enoch 14.8–25) are Hellenistic texts. It seems highly unlikely that GO could be much earlier.

II. Exegetical and Rhetorical Methods: Recombination as Interpretation

I have already observed that the author of GO never quoted his sources. There are no citation formulae or verbatim duplications of locutions that are longer than a few words. There is only an acknowledgment of literary dependence in 38.17 and 39.8. Instead, the author revealed his sources by borrowing their most distinctive locutions, by seeding a pericope with numerous locutions from an identifiable source text, or by reusing a combination of images and themes that is unique to a particular source text. Explicit exegesis of existing texts is clearly not at the forefront of the author's purposes.[88] In point of fact, the author of GO never explicitly exegetes any source text. Interpretation, for the author of GO, is implicit. It is achieved through the combination and reapplication of locutions, images, themes, and whole oracles.

In the chart below, I have listed and categorized all the texts that are evoked in GO, which were discussed in chapter three.[89] The two columns on the left identify the portion of GO in view, and the sources evoked in that section. In the third column from the left, I identify the textual element reused as locution(s), image(s), and/or theme(s). The three are, obviously, not separable in some tidy or obvious way. The label "locution" merely indicates that the author reused language (graphemes) from his source text.[90] "Image" indicates that the author borrowed a particular image from a text, but may or may not have expressed that image using the same vocabulary as the source text. So, for example, Ezek 38.18–23 reuses a con-

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kisédeq," *RevQ* 1 (1969–71): 360–61; Brooke, "Thematic Commentaries"; I. Frölich, "'Narrative Exegesis' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 81–99.

[88] For similar examples see Menahem Kister, "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and its Implications," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature* (ed. M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 101–11; "Biblical Phrases and Hidden Biblical Interpretations and *Pesharim*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STJD 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 27–39.

[89] Including every borrowed locution (catalogued in chs. 1–2) would be redundant.

[90] For my use of classifications like "locution," "distinctive language," and "idiolect" see ch. 2 throughout.

stellation of images from Zeph 1.2–18 (esp. 2–3), but chooses to express one of them in language borrowed from Gen 1.26–28. "Theme" indicates that the author of GO borrowed a topic or subject, from a particular text, though that theme may well be found elsewhere within the source text and, in most cases, within the wider corpus of Scripture. It is classified as a theme because it contributes not just to the descriptive detail of GO but to its message and argument. The right hand column classifies each case of reuse according to its rhetorical purpose within GO and/or the exegetical technique employed by the author of GO to deputize the source into his text. In many cases, I give the element more than one classification. In this column, I identify the following categories of reuse: appropriation, conflation (complementary and non-complementary), typology, legal application, gap filling, inversion, taunt/irony, and linguistic cohesion. Each of these will be explained, in this order, following the chart.

Segment of GO	Text Reused	Element(s) Reused	Principal Purpose of Reuse and/or Exegetical Technique Employed
Whole Oracle	Ezek 28.25–26	Locutions, Themes	Appropriation: GO takes up locutions and themes from 28.25–26
	Ezek 6.1–14	Locutions, Images, Themes,	Inversion: GO reapplies judgments announced against Judah (using pagan cult language) to Gog (using Priestly cult language)
	Ps 79.1–4	Images, Themes	Inversion: GO applies horrors inflicted on Jerusalem by the nations to the nations, represented by Gog
38.1–6	Num 23–24 (23.14; 24.7)	Locutions, Temporal Reference	Appropriation: associates time of Gog and his invasion with the messianic age
	Isa 66.19 + Gen 10.2–8 + Ezek 27.10–23	Locutions	Appropriation: associates Gog and his allies with nations of the primeval past and the eschatological foes of Israel in Isaiah.
			Conflation (complementary): GO combines names and temporal reference from all three texts, which are associated (exegetically) by common locutions

SEGMENT OF GO	TEXT REUSED	ELEMENT(S) REUSED	PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF REUSE AND/OR EXEGETICAL TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED
	Num 10:4; 36:1	Locution	Taunt and Irony: Gog given incongruous Israelite title (נשיא ראש)
	Ezek 29.4–5 + 2 Kgs 19.28	Locutions, Images	Linguistic Cohesion and Taunt: flavors GO with Ezekielian language and images; reuses taunt against Gog Conflation (complementary): blends locutions and images from Ezek 29.4–5 and 2 Kgs 19.28
	Pss 22.16; 35.18; 40.10; etc.	Locution	Taunt/Irony: Gog's host given incongruous Israelite cultic title (קהל רב/גדול)
	Ezek 21.16 + 23.6, 12, 24 + 27.10	Locutions	Linguistic Cohesion: flavors GO with Ezekielian language Conflation (complementary): blends locutions and images from Ezek 21, 23, and 27.
	Isa 14.13	Locution	Typology (see 39.1–8 below)
38.7–16	Isa 10.3–7 + Jer 49.30–33	Locutions, Images	Typology: future disaster (invasion by Gog) patterned on past disasters (invasions by Assyrian and Babylonia) Conflation (complementary): the two texts deemed exegetically related by common use of keywords
	Exodus Language	Locutions (מקבצת מעמים, מעמים הוצאה)	Conflation (non-complementary): combines locutions from exodus tradition with locutions from Isa 10 and Jer 49 Linguistic Cohesion: associates restoration with new exodus, in line with ideology of the book of Ezekiel (e.g., ch. 20)

SEGMENT OF GO	TEXT REUSED	ELEMENT(S) REUSED	PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF REUSE AND/OR EXEGETICAL TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED
	Settlement Language	Locution (תבוא אל ארץ)	Conflation (non-complementary): combines locutions from the settlement tradition with locutions from Isa 10 and Jer 49
			Taunt/Irony: parallels land-allotment language in 39.11
	Num 9.16	Locution	Conflation (non-complementary): adds locution from Num 9.16 to locutions from Isa 10 and Jer 49
			Taunt/Irony: cult language (ענן לכסות) applied to Gog's host (bis)
	Deut 3.5	Locutions	Inversion and Irony: fortified Canaanite cities captured; unfortified Israelite cities impervious
			Conflation (complementary): adapts language of Jer 49 to that of Deut 3.5
	Ezek 33.24, 27	Locution	Appropriation: condition of land in ch. 33 still the case on chs. 38–39
			Linguistic Cohesion
	Patriarchal Language	Locution (מקנה וקנין)	Conflation (complementary): adapts language of Jer 49 to well-known expression from patriarchal stories (Gen 31.18; 34.23; etc.)
	Judg 9.37	Locution, Image	Conflation (non-complementary): adds locution from Judg 9.37 to those from Isa 10 and Jer 49
	Isa 14.13	Locution	Appropriation (see 39.1–8 below)

SEGMENT OF GO	TEXT REUSED	ELEMENT(S) REUSED	PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF REUSE AND/OR EXEGETICAL TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED
	Ezek 23.4b	Locution	Linguistic Cohesion (see 38.1–6 above)
	Joel 2.25	Locution	Appropriation
38.18–23	Zeph 1.2–18	Locution, Images, Theme	Appropriation: associates the restoration in GO with prophetic oracles about the "day of Yhwh"
	Jer 10.22, 25	Locution, Theme	Conflation (complementary): adds locutions from Jer 10 to themes from Zeph 1, because both are prophetic oracles about the "day of Yhwh"
	Gen 1.26–28	Locutions, Theme	Associative Harmonization: heightens Zephaniah's return-to-chaos theme by appealing to the P creation story
	(*tradition*)	Theme	Conflation (complementary): adds a common theme from *Volkerstürm* tradition (enemies turning on one another) to the judgments from Zeph
	Ezek 13.11, 13 + 5.17	Locutions	Conflation (non-complementary): adds judgments from Ezekiel to judgments from Zeph
			Linguistic Cohesion
	Gen 19.24	Locution	Conflation (non-complementary): adds judgment from Gen 19 to judgments from Zeph (possibly suggests some guilt on Gog's part).
	Ezek 20.9	Locution	Typology: restoration as a new exodus
			Linguistic Cohesion
	Isa 10.15	Locution, Theme	Typology (see 38.1–16 above)

Segment of GO	Text Reused	Element(s) Reused	Principal Purpose of Reuse and/or Exegetical Technique Employed
39.1–8	Isa 14.4b–21	Locutions, Themes	Typology: oracle against Assyria, which was reapplied to Babylon in Isa 14, is now reapplied to Gog
	Ezek 29.4–5 + 2 Kgs 19.28	Locutions, Images	Linguistic Cohesion and Taunt: flavors GO with Ezekielian language and images; reuses taunt against Gog
			Conflation (complementary): blends locutions and images from Ezek 29.4–5 and 2 Kgs 19.28
	Amos 1–2	Locution, Image	Conflation (non-complementary): adds another judgment to the judgments from Isa 14.
	H	Locutions, Theme	Linguistic Cohesion: aligns GO with Ezekiel's development of the H theme of profanation of the Name (Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; etc.)
	Isaiah Language	Locution (בישראל קדוש)	Appropriation (see 39.21–29 below)
39.9–16	Jer 7.30–34	Locutions, Images, Themes	Inversion and Typology: just as Israelite children were sacrificed to pagan god(s) in Hinnom, Gog will be sacrificed by God in Hamon
	Ezek 23.24	Locution	Linguistic Cohesion (see 38.1–6 above)
	Isa 10.6	Locution	Typology (see 38.7–16 above)
			Conflation (non-complementary): adds another element (plundering the slain) to the images from Jer 7

Segment of GO	Text Reused	Element(s) Reused	Principal Purpose of Reuse and/or Exegetical Technique Employed
	Land-allotment/ City of Refuge Language (esp. Josh 20.2–4)	Locution	Inversion and Irony: "place" given to Gog offers no protection; it is a grave (see similar use of settlement language in Ezek 38.7–16)
			Conflation (complementary): land-allotment language from Jer 7.23 adapted to Josh 20.2–4
	Deut 21.22–23; Lev 22.4; Num 19.16–18	Themes	Legal Application: author of GO applies purity law regarding corpses to a new situation – the effects of (Gentile) casualties of war on the land's purity.
39.17–20	Isa 34.6–7	Locutions, Images, Themes	Inversion: expands upon the inversion in Isa 34 (humans as sacrificial animals) so that humans (as sacrificial animals) are fed to unclean animals at a sacrificial feast.
			Typology: As was done to Edom, so also to Gog
	Lev 7.23–27	Locutions, Theme	Inversion: deity summons participants to breach dietary law
	Sacrifice Language	Locution (זבח + -ל + deity)	Inversion: deity performs sacrifice
			Conflation (complementary): inversions already present in Isa 34.6–7 heightened by allusions to Lev 7.23–27 and sacrifice language.

Segment of GO	Text Reused	Element(s) Reused	Principal Purpose of Reuse and/or Exegetical Technique Employed
39.21–29	Supplementation: all borrowed locutions in 39.21–29, regardless of their source, are combined to craft the oracle.		
	DI & TI Language	Locutions, Themes	Appropriation: restoration of Israel in GO associated with images of the restoration on DI and TI
	Deuteronomic Language	Locutions, Themes	Inversion: restoration depicted as time when none breach the covenant
	H Language	Locutions, Themes	Inversion: restoration depicted as time of adherence to and successful fulfillment of covenant stipulations
	Hos 1.6	Locution	Inversion: reversal of judgment in Hos 1.6
	Ezekiel's Deliverance Oracles	Locutions, Themes	Conflation (complementary): combines elements from deliverance oracles in Ezek (esp. 11.19–21; 16.53–63; 20.39–44)
	Joel 3.1–2	Locution, Themes	Gap-filling: interprets promise to "pour out spirit" (Ezek 11; 36) in terms of prophetic inspiration; Conflation (complementary): uses locutions from Joel to express themes already present in Ezekiel

1. Appropriation

Appropriation, in my nomenclature, refers to simple cases wherein the author of GO applies the content of a source text to his story of the Gog invasion, without any exegetical transformation or semantic adaptation. They are straightforward cases of borrowing. In addition, though appropriated elements are combined in the new composition, they are not combined or conflated in any synthetic way (see number two below). *Appropriation is most apparent in the reuse of eschatological oracles*, elements of which the author of GO simply drew upon to craft his own oracle. So, for exam-

ple, the foe, "Gog," and his predicted time of appearance, "the latter days," are borrowed from the Balaam oracles (Num 23.14 and 24.7 specifically). The character Gog is simply added to, appropriated into, the author's own picture of events in the "latter days," associating the time of Gog's invasion with the messianic age predicted in Num 23–24. By appropriating elements from many eschatological texts into his new work, the author has effectively conflated them all, but, at a local level, appropriated elements are not intertwined with elements from other source texts.

Examples of the *appropriation* of prophetic oracles, or texts deemed relevant to prophetic oracles, were identified in the following units of GO: the whole of GO (Ezek 28.25–26); 38.1–6 (Num 23–24 [esp. 23.14; 24.7]; Isa 66.19; Gen 10.2–8; Ezek 27.10, 23), 38.7–16 (Ezek 33.24, 27; Isa 14.13; Joel 2.25), 38.18–23 (Zeph 1.2–3, 18; Jer 10.22, 25); 39.7 (divine title from Isaiah [e.g., 1.4; 5.19, 24; 10.20; 12.6; 17.7; 29.19]) and 39.21–29 (DI and TI locutions, Ezekiel's deliverance oracles, Joel 3.1–2).

2. *Conflation*[91]

GO is, in its entirety, a conflate text. The author recombines a considerable number of elements from many sources in GO. For the sake of clarity and specificity, though, I reserve the term *conflation* for cases wherein the author of GO deliberately combined elements from two or more sources. Conflation is a scribal technique of combination, which includes a variety of techniques from simple juxtaposition of locutions to extended conflations and harmonizations.[92] I have identified two main varieties of conflation in GO: complementary conflation and non-complementary conflation.

a. Complementary Conflation

The first type of conflation is well known in the manuscripts and versions. Michael Klein, who identified the technique at work in the Targumim, re-

[91] Among the more sophisticated discussions of how authors and scribes augment relationships between two or more scriptural texts are: Jean Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe* (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982); Mackie, "Expanding," 50–77, esp. 62–75; Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–27; "Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy," chapter in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 271–82; and Zakovitch, "Assimilation in Biblical Narratives," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism,* ed. Jeffrey H. Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 176–96.

[92] See discussions in Bernstein and Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law," 68–70, 80–82; Mackie, "Expanding," 62–65, 70–71.

ferred to it as *associative harmonization*.[93] In it, "the translation or adaptation of a biblical text is affected linguistically by another passage which is analogous to it or with which it shares common elements."[94] In the case of Ezek 38.12–13, for example, a locution for plunder taken from Jer 49.32 (גמל יהם . . . מקניהם) was adapted to conform to a more well-known expression from the patriarchal stories (מקנה קנין). Similarly, in Ezek 38.10 the author conflated a locution from Jer 49.31 (לא דלתים ולא בריח לו) with elements from Deut 3.5 (חומה and פרזות). These examples illustrate how most cases of associative harmonization operate within GO; namely, a locution from one text is adapted to conform more closely to a *similar* locution from another text.[95]

Klein's examples are all quite small, most no longer than a few words or phrases. There is another, more exegetically sophisticated variety of conflation at work in GO that makes use of larger text segments, whole verses, and pericopae. Yair Zakovitch designated a similar type of conflation as *assimilation*. He defines assimilation as follows:

> At times we find an original similarity which has been secondarily augmented with borrowed motifs. Such a phenomenon may be termed *assimilation*. It arises when a traditionist or editor increases the affinity of stories already similar in themselves by adding to one of them material borrowed from the parallel tradition or composed by him under the influence of the parallel tradition.[96]

The case of Ezek 38–39 is somewhat different. Rather than a particular text being augmented to "increase the affinity" to another "already similar" text, a *new* text (GO) was composed to bring together elements from two or more antecedent texts, which themselves had a certain "affinity" or "similarity." So, for example, in Ezek 38.18–23, Zeph 1.2–3 has been conflated with Gen 1.26–28. The linguistic parallels between the two texts are essential because they authorize the exegetical relationship that has been created between them.[97] When crafting his list of Gog's allied nations, the

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[93] Michael Klein, "Associative and Complementary Translation in the Targumim," *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982): 134–40. "The targumim, in many of these cases [similar phrases or clause in HB], equalize the varying texts by translating one of them in conformity with the other" (p. 134).

[94] Moshe Bernstein, "Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 48; see also Marianne Luijken, "A Striking Case of Harmonization in the Genesis Apocryphon (1Qap-Gen Col. xxii: 2–3)," paper presented at the International Meeting of the Society for Biblical Literature, Amsterdam. August, 1985.

[95] For similar examples that occur elsewhere in Ezekiel see, Lyons, *Law to Prophecy*, 95–97.

[96] Zakovitch, "Assimilation in Biblical Narratives," 176–96.

[97] This technique, as Zakovitch noted, is similar to the later rabbinic category *gezera shawa*, on which see Philip S. Alexander, "Quid Athens et Hierosolymus? Rabbinic Mid-

author of GO began with the nations in Isa 66.19 who were identified as eschatological foes of Israel. Since Isa 66.19 contained names that also appeared in the Table of Nations (Gen 10.2–28) and in Ezekiel's Tyre oracles (27.10–23 [32.26]), national names from all three texts were included in the new list, assimilating them. This assimilation authorized an understanding of all three texts as rolls of eschatological foes. This was presumed regardless of the fact that neither Gen 10 nor Ezek 27 is related to the eschaton.[98] I refer to all conflations of "similar" texts within GO, whether they are most similar to Klein's "associative harmonization" or Zakovitch's "assimilation," as "complementary conflation."

Examples of small scale *complementary conflation* were identified in the following verses: 38.4 (Ezek 29.4–5 + 2 Kgs 19.28); 38.4b–5 (Ezek 21.16 + 23.6, 12, 24 + 27.10); 38.11 (Jer 49.31 + Deut 3.5); 38.12–13 (Jer 49.33 + Gen 31.18; 34.23; 36.6; etc.); 38.20a (Zeph 1.2–18 + Gen 1.26–28); 39.4b (Isa 14.4b–21 + Ezek 29.4–5); 39.11 (Jer 7.32 + Josh 20.2–4); 39.21–29 (combines elements from deliverance oracles in Ezek 11.19–21, 16.53–63, and 20.39–44); 39.29 (Ezek 11.21; 36.26; 37.14 + Joel 3.1–2). Larger, more extended examples of *complementary conflation* were identified in: 38.1–6 (Isa 66.19 + Gen 10.2–8 + Ezek 27.10–23); 38.7–16 (Isa 10.3–7 + Jer 49.30–33); 38.18–23 (Zeph 1.2–18 + Jer 10.22, 25); 39.17–20 (Isa 34.6–7 + Lev 7.23–27 + sacrifice language [e.g., Gen 46.1; Exod 3.18; 5.3, 8, 17; Lev 19.5; Deut 15.21])

b. Non-Complementary Conflation

As we have observed, the author of GO created each pericope by lifting a whole constellation of images, topoi, and locutions from a particular source text (or texts). In each case, he then supplemented the elements from the primary source text with locutions drawn from other sources. Unlike complementary conflation, the source texts have little or nothing in common and are not brought into any semantic alignment. I refer to this technique as *non-complementary conflation*. This happens, for example, in Ezek 39.1–8. The whole pericope is dependent upon Isa 14.4b–21, but the author supplements the elements borrowed from Isa 14 with locutions from

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rash and Hermeneutics in the Greco-Roman World," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (ed. Philip R. Davies and Richard T. White; JSOTSup 100; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 101–24; Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, 1:13–16; 2:27; Bernstein and Koyfman. "The Interpretation of Biblical Law," 84–86; M. L. Chernick, "Internal Restraints on Gezerah Shewah's Application," *JQR* n.s. 80 (1989–90): 253–82; Samely, *Rabbinic*, 194–225; Elieser Slomovik, "Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 3–15.

[98] Zakovitch also examines cases that are quite similar to GO, wherein the assimilation occurs within a new composition, e.g., Josephus ("Assimilation," 177–80).

Amos (שלחתי אש, 1.4, 7, 10, 12; 2.2, 5) and from the oracles against Egypt (Ezek 29.4–5). This example notwithstanding, conflated locutions are often stereotypical expressions of a corpus or tradition, rather than markers of a particular source text.

Examples of *non-complementary conflation* were identified in the following texts: 38.8 (+ exodus language; e.g., Deut 30.3; Exod 3.10, 12; 7.4; 12.31); 38.8 (+ settlement language; e.g., Num 15.2; 34.2; Deut 8.7; 17.14; 18.9); 38.9, 16 (+ Num 9.16); 38.12 (+ Judg 9.37); 38.21 (+ *Volkerstürm* motif; e.g., Judg 7.22; 1 Sam 14.20; Hag 2.22); 38.22 (+ Ezek 5.17; 13.11, 13); 38.22 (+ Gen 19.24); 39.6 (+ judgment language from Amos; e.g., 1.4, 7, 10, 12); 39.10 (+ Isa 10.6); 39.21–29 (complex constellation of conflated locutions from DI, TI, Deuteronomic literature, H, Ezekiel's restoration oracles, Hos 1.6, and Joel 3.1–2).

3. Typology

On occasion, the author of GO understood antecedent oracles, not as *prophecies* about the future, but as paradigms, as if future events would be patterned on past events. This technique was utilized by the author of GO whenever he wished to reuse *elements from an oracle that did not obviously relate to the eschaton*. In effect, the events of the "latter days" (GO) would imitate past events, and this imitation would be so close that they would correspond in many of their details. Thus, in Ezek 38.7–13 and 39.1–8, the author patterned Gog's fate on that of the Assyrians and Babylonians before him, as it was expressed in Isa 10.1–34 and 14.4b–21.

In some cases, prophets create typologies by patterning a future event on a past prophecy. In other cases, the prophetic authors recognize typologies already present in antecedent texts and extend them. For example, the author of GO, recognizing a typological argument within Isaiah in which Isa 10, 14 and 34 were included, used the same typology in his own depiction of Gog.[99]

Examples of *typology* were identified in 38.1–6 (reusing Isa 14.13); 38.7–16 (reusing Isa 10.3–7 + Jer 49.30–33); 38.18–23 (reusing Ezek 20.9 and Isa 10.15); 39.1–8 (reusing Isa 14.4b–21); 39.9–16 (reusing Isa 10.6); and 39.17–20 (reusing Isa 34.6–7).

4. Legal Application

According to the rabbinic exegetical principle *binyan ʾab*, a law revealed in one text may be applied to other circumstances that appear to be logi-

[99] See Teeter, "Isaiah and the King of As/Syria," forthcoming.

cally similar.[100] Jacob Milgrom referred to the application of this principle in the Dead Sea Scrolls as "equalization or homogenization," an interpretive process in which "a law which applies to specific objects, animals or persons is extended to other members of the same species."[101] There is a similar new application of the laws of defilement by corpses in GO. In Ezek 39.9–16, the notion that the land can be defiled by the contagion of corpses, a notion derived from laws like Lev 22.4; Num 19.16–18; and Deut 21.22–23, is applied to casualties of war. The ritual effects on the land itself of the dead who were slain in battle are never addressed in the Torah. People are made unclean by touching those "slain by the sword" (Num 19.16), and the land is made unclean by the corpses of those suffering capital punishment if they are not interred quickly enough (Deut 21.22–23). GO applies these laws in a new way. It explains the effects of the war-dead on the land and prescribes a system for its ritual repurification, which takes more than seven months to accomplish due to the size of Gog's horde (39.9–16).[102]

5. Gap-filling

GO, as an entirety, was crafted to fill certain gaps in the plot and argument of the book of Ezekiel. In this sense, the whole of GO could be labeled as a case of gap-filling (see "Effects of Scriptural Reuse" below). As an exegetical technique, I have something much more specific than this in mind when I label a case of reuse "gap-filling." The author of GO alludes to a specific text for an exegetical purpose, to explain something that was never clearly articulated in one of his source texts. There is one clear case of this technique at work in GO, the allusion to Joel 3.1–2 in Ezek 39.29. By this allusion, the author offered an interpretation of the phrase "one/new spirit" in Ezek 11.19–20, 18.31, and 37.14.

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[100] See Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 19; Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, 1:9–11, 2:21–22; Bergman, *Gateway to the Talmud*, 136–40; E. Slomovik, "Toward an Understanding," 3–15; Bernstein and Koyfman. "The Interpretation of Biblical Law," 80–82

[101] Jacob Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. George Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 171. In the same article he went further, claiming that the "exegetical technique of homogenization most closely resembles the later Rabbinic hermeneutical rule of *binyan ʾāb*, lit. a structure (emerging out) of the father" (175). This assertion was repeated, with additional examples, in "Qumran's Biblical Hermeneutics: The Case of the Wood Offering," *RevQ* 16 (1993–95), 449.

[102] Neither the repurification of the land nor of the burial teams would require the services of a priest for repurification, presuming that the instructions of Num 19.14–20 also apply in the new case.

6. Inversion

Inversion is one of the author's favorite techniques of reuse. The author of GO is fond of reusing texts that offer some result, or instruction, or threat, and applying it in the reverse. The inversion may be to apply the same result to an enemy or opponent, as when judgments announced against Israel are reapplied to the enemies of Israel, even, on occasion, those carried out *by* the enemies of Israel (e.g., Ps 79.1–4; Jer 7.30–34). The inversion may be to apply an instruction or law in the reverse, as when God performs sacrifices, or when he commands a breach of priestly dietary law, overturning his own stipulations (e.g., Lev 7.23–27 in Ezek 39.17–18). Or the inversion may be used to mock or taunt, as when the author applies land-allotment language to Gog, language related to a smallholding given to one guilty of manslaughter (Josh 20.2–4 in Ezek 39.11).

Examples of inversion were identified in the following units of GO: the whole oracle (Ezek 6.1–14; Ps 79.1–4); 38.11 (Deut 3.5); 39.9–16 (Jer 7.30–34); 39.11 (esp. Josh 20.4–5); 39.17–20 (Isa 34.6–7); 39.17–18 (Lev 7.23–27; sacrifice language, זבח ל-); 39.25 (Hos 1.6); 39.26 (H language, מעל); 39.29 (Deuteronomic language regarding the "face" of God).

7. Taunt and Irony

The author of GO was not hesitant to use allusions to mock Gog or to create humorous incongruities between him and his intended victims. In its simplest application, the author simply lifted taunts from other texts and reused them against Gog. Notable here is the reuse of locutions from the oracles against Pharaoh (29.4–5 // 38.4; 39.4–5). In other cases, he created irony through inversion.[103] The author of GO described the population of Israel as being defenseless, living in unfortified towns. In this, he used language that was reminiscent of Deut 3.5 (Ezek 38.10). In Deut 3.5 the fortified cities of the Canaanites are helpless against the invading Israelites. In GO, the unfortified towns of Israel are impervious to the invading host of Gog.

The author's favorite technique for poking fun at Gog was to adapt distinctively Israelite titles and notions and apply them to Gog. So, Gog is granted an Israelite tribal title (Num 10.4; 36.1 // Ezek 38.2). His host is

[103] All the inversions listed above are, in fact, ironic in as much as irony can be defined as "a subtly humorous perception of inconsistency, in which an apparently straightforward statement or event is undermined by its context so as to give it a very different significance" (Chris Baldick, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990], 114). When I use the label "irony" on the chart above, it indicates a subjective judgment that the reuse in question was intended by the author to be ironic.

referred to in language reminiscent of Israelite cultic assemblies (Pss 22.6; 35.18; 40.10, 11; Ezra 10.1 // Ezek 38.4, 15). The approaching host is described using a locution for the divine presence (Num 9.16 // Ezek 38.9, 16), and Gog's burial site is described in land-allotment language (esp. Josh 20.2–4; Jer 7.32 // Ezek 39.11). These cutting allusions serve to heighten the ethnic exclusiveness of GO. The author of GO envisions the Gentile world attacking Israel. Though he borrows from oracles that make room for Gentile inclusion in the restoration (e.g., Isa 65–66), he includes none of those elements in his portrait of the new age. He is strikingly silent about the ultimate fate of the Gentile nations.

Examples of taunt and irony were identified in the following texts: 38.2 (Num 10.4; 36.1); 38.4 (Ezek 29.4–5 + 2 Kgs 19.28); 38.4, 15 (Pss 22.6; 35.18; 40.10, 11; Ezra 10.1); 38.8 (+ settlement language; e.g., Num 15.2; 34.2; Deut 8.7; 17.14; 18.9); 38.9, 16 (Num 9.16); 38.10 (Deut 3.5); 39.4–5 (Ezek 29.4–5 + 2 Kgs 19.28); and 39.11 (Jer 7.32 + Josh 20.2–4).

8. Linguistic Cohesion

I have argued extensively that the author of GO deliberately mimicked Ezekiel's idiolect. In chapter two, I identified fifty-eight distinctively Ezekielian locutions that reappear in GO. I argued there that most of these locutions were included in GO to create cohesion between GO and the book of Ezekiel. In chapter four, I examined several of these cases in more detail, including locutions from Ezek 21.16; 23.6, 12, 24; 27.10; and 29.4–5. In another case, the author of GO reused locutions from the exodus tradition to create cohesion with Ezek 20 (see discussion of Ezek 38.7–16).

Examples of cohesion, which were discussed in chapter 4, appear in the following texts: the whole oracle (6.1–14; 28.25–26); 38.4 (29.4–5); 38.4–6 (21.16; 23.6, 12, 24; 27.10); 38.8 (exodus language/Ezek 20); 38.8 (33.24, 27); 38.15 (23.4b); 38.22 (13.11, 13); 38.22 (20.9); 39.4–5 (29.4–5); 39.1–8 (H/Ezek on defilement of name); 39.9 (23.24).

III. Conclusions: Methods of Reuse

The Gog Oracles were obviously crafted with great care. Their structure, plot, themes, images and language all show signs of careful selection and careful recombination. The author's compositional and exegetical techniques, though, lift our eyes from his work to the broader horizon of its literary context. *The author's selection of source texts and exegesis of them show that his vision took in the whole book of Ezekiel*. The exegesis is not atomistic, concerned with the proper interpretation of individual phrases and clauses. It addresses substantive themes like the profanation of God's name, gathering and restoration of Israel, and the outpouring of the divine

spirit (explored in the next section of this chapter). His selection of source material from the book is also wide ranging, from chapters as widely separated as three and thirty-seven, from judgment oracles and deliverance oracles, from oracles against Israel and oracles against foreign nations. GO was clearly crafted as a supplement to a *book* of Ezekiel.[104]

The author's choice of source materials also shows that *his interest was not restricted to Ezekiel*. By borrowing from a wide array of texts, GO's author was able to introduce new topics into the book of Ezekiel and adjust others, integrating the book with a wider corpus of literature. The borrowing, especially from oracular literature, is quite selective. Despite the fact that the author of GO is discussing the future of Israel, he shows little interest in many of its usual topics, including Jerusalem, the temple, the restored cult, the monarchy and the messiah. He chose to borrow, instead, from oracles which address the vindication of Israel or the fate of the nations, topics that are, apart from GO, almost entirely absent from Ezekiel's portrait of Israel's future. These subjects were articulated using language and motifs of that were borrowed from prophets who *did* speak to these subjects.[105]

Further, the author's reuse of material from books other than Ezekiel shows that *he knew many of these texts in some book form*, not as individual oracles or law codes. His reapplication of law shows an awareness of more than one code and an assumption that they are equally (even mutually) applicable. His reuses of typological structures that extend throughout Isaiah betray an awareness of Isaiah as a large composition with its own ideology and compositional strategy. This is not to say that his sources were past being redacted. It is to say that the author of GO was not working myopically or atomistically.[106] The author of GO, though crafting a

[104] All of the evidence accumulated in chs. 2 and 3 suggests that the book included most of Ezek 1–37 and 40–48, excepting (at least) the minuses in Pap[967] (e.g., Ezek 36:23c–38) and the many expansions in MT-Ezekiel.

[105] See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 423–24; Bernstein, "Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," 37–57.

[106] Contra Fishbane (*Biblical Interpretation*, 489–91) and Barton (*Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986], 150–51). Both Fishbane and Barton assume that prophetic exegesis was practiced on individual oracles, "fragments," in Fishbane's words (p. 489), "cut loose from their original textual moorings" (p. 490). Barton argues that, in antiquity, a prophetic book was not the "closed, unitary whole" that critical scholarship often imagines (?). For both of these authors, it is part and parcel of the purpose and spirit of mantological exegesis that the objects of divinatory exegesis were the individual oracles, not prophetic collections and books. Indeed mantic exegetes *needed* to divorce oracles from their broader literary contexts to maximize the possibilities for reapplying them in creative ways, possibilities that were restricted by their appearance in a literary context. As I have argued here, though, in the case of GO the author had access to and worked with

book from small linguistic building blocks, was working with a variety of religious books and had a vision for incorporating GO within that wider body of literature.

Perhaps most striking is the author's obvious care to conflate his sources. In no instance does the author overturn, contradict, or replace an antecedent text. He manifests a remarkable assumption that all his sources can (and indeed should) be read in harmony. The oracles he draws upon from the Torah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Twelve are all reconcilable, telescoped into one future "moment" that will open with the invasion of Gog.

B. Effects of Scriptural Reuse

The constellation of passages alluded to in GO was carefully selected according to a strategic plan to supplement and reformulate certain of the book's themes and arguments. In some cases, the insertion of GO into the book of Ezekiel added something entirely new to the book. In other cases, it adapted claims already present within Ezekiel. The design and composition of GO also had unintended effects on the flow of the oracles' narrative and on the genre in which they were cast.[107]

I. Intended Effects of Reuse

The dissolution of Judah and the exile raised profound religious questions for the survivors. These questions were not relieved by the return from exile and reconstruction of the temple. The people still lived under foreign domination, in a reduced land, without monarchy or sovereignty. This political situation kept pressing existential questions alive, questions like: Why did Yhwh allow Judah to be conquered by foreigners? Why did Yhwh not protect his people? Was he unable or unwilling? Where is the justice in granting power over his people to wicked Gentiles? Even if Judah deserved punishment for her deeds, surely her Gentile oppressors deserved it more. And perhaps most pressing: "How long, O Lord?"

Answers to these questions were explored and worked out in the religious literature of the exile, a creative enterprise that would alter Judaism forever. Jeremiah, for example, counseled surrender and cooperation. Judah was enduring Yhwh's just wrath for her misdeeds. Nebuchadnezzar was merely an agent, executioner to Yhwh the judge. Resistance to the

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large compositions, "books" if you will, and demonstrates no lack of exegetical creativity despite this.

[107] By "unintended" I do not mean to imply "unconscious." The author may well have been conscious of these effects, but chose to tolerate them.

Babylonians was resistance to Yhwh's plan, rebellion against the divine. That the events of 587 fell out according to Yhwh's plan protected and preserved divine sovereignty and pointed a way forward. Yhwh, for a time, had determined that Babylon should rise, even at the expense of Judah. But Babylon's dominion would not persevere. She too would suffer punishment for her deeds, and in that punishment Israel would find freedom and restoration, glory and renewal. All would be worked out according to the predetermined plan of Yhwh. The return and restoration under Persian hegemony did not dissolve these questions. If anything, the lack of congruity between Jeremiah's vision of restoration and the political, religious, economic realities in Persian Yehud intensified speculation about Yhwh's plan and the full restoration to come.

The resulting literary activity, in response to pressing religious questions of the day, created new questions of its own about the nature of revelation and the relation of religious books to one another. Those literary works which could speak to present conditions and future hopes (the ongoing divine program) and which could claim revelatory status were revised and re-revised, preserved and studied, cross-referenced and interpreted. The book of Ezekiel was at once ideally suited for inclusion in this activity and ill suited. No other book provided so articulate an account of Yhwh's visceral reaction to Judah's failures (Ezek 16, 23). No other book outlined the divine plan from Egypt to eschaton with such clarity and concision (Ezek 20). No other book provided such a comprehensive and meticulous portrait of the city and the temple in the restoration (Ezek 40–48). Still, Ezekiel contained profound silences: nothing specific about the time of restoration; nothing about the circumstances that would bring about restoration; nothing about other nations and their role or place within this plan. In this cultural matrix of intense composition, interpretation, and speculation, *the author of GO crafted a oracular story that would, at once, fill the gaps in Ezekiel and harmonize the book with different literary visions of Israel's future, embedding Ezekiel forever within the emerging corpus of revelatory literature*.

1. Introduction of New Topics and Topoi into the Book

a. Vindication and Redemption of Israel

The most fundamental gap in the book of Ezekiel has to do with a question of divine justice. Why has Yhwh given dominion to Gentile nations over his own people? Even if they are just tools of God's wrath, wielded to chasten wayward Israel, are they not evil too; more evil than Judah ever was? When will they be punished? When will Israel be restored? When will the world be set right again? The prophets are replete with answers to

these questions. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, Habakkuk, Micah, and Zechariah all provide answers of one sort or another. Ezekiel (absent GO) does not. It is remarkably silent on the subject of the nations. To be sure, it contains oracles against the nations, decrying their crimes during the sixth century. Still, the book does not address their ultimate fate apart from one oblique reference in 28.26.

The author of GO answers these questions by reframing the issue in Ezekiel's terms, as related to the profanation of God's name. According to Ezekiel, the exile profaned God's name, and it will not be sanctified until the exile ends and the people return. For the author of the GO, the return is not sufficient to restore God's reputation. God must also judge the nations, and he must do so before the eyes of Israel.

In Ezekiel, the motif of God's name being profaned occurs in chapters 20 and 36 (20.9, 14, 22, 39; 36.20, 21, 22, 23). The locution used to express this theme (variations on חלל שם קדשי) is adopted from H, and occurs in Lev 18.21; 19.12; 20.3; 21.6; 22.2, 32 (// Amos 2.7; Jer 34.16). In H and the Prophets, God's name is defiled when Israel violates his precepts, as, for example, in Ezek 20.39 where Yhwh's name has been profaned by the actions of Israel in worshiping idols. Ezekiel 20.41, 44 and 36.20–23, however, offer a different explanation of this theme. The exile defiled God's name in that it damaged his reputation before the surrounding nations (see also 20.9, 14, 22). When God condemned his people to be conquered and deported, he appeared unable to protect them.

The corresponding motif of God sanctifying his name occurs in chapters 20, 28, and 36 (20.41; 28.25; 36.23).[108] God needs to repair his reputation before the nations, even if it results in undeserved benefits for Israel (20.44; 36.22). So, God will restore his people to the land, proving his sovereignty before the nations (20.41; 28.25). To protect his name from future profanation, God will then transform Israel, giving her a new heart and new spirit, which will make her obedient to the covenant (11.20; 16.60) and ashamed of her past infidelity. Israel will be motivated to cleanse the land of idolatry (11.18) and enabled to practice her religion with fidelity (20.40–41).

GO touches upon the name motif on four occasions (38.16, 23; 39.1–6, and 39.21–24), and in each case it is the destruction of Gog's host that serves to sanctify God's name. In Ezek 38.16 God addresses Gog as follows: "and you will come up against my people Israel like a cloud covering

[108] Apart from these texts, a first-person reflexive of קדש with God as the subject occurs in Ezek only in 28.22, 25 and 36.23. Outside of Ezek the expression occurs in Exod 19.72; 29.43; Lev 10.3; 11.44; 22.32; Num 11.18; 20.13; Josh 3.5; 7.13; 1 Sam 16.5; 2 Sam 11.4; Isa 5.16; 30.29; 66.17; 1 Chr 15.12, 14; 2 Chr 5.11; 29.5, 34; 30.3, 15, 17, 24; 31.18; 35.6.

the land – this will be in the latter days – and I will bring you against my land, in order that the nations know me, when I show myself holy among you before their eyes, O Gog." In Ezek 38.23, following a series of cosmic actions that will destroy Gog's host, God concludes, "And I will magnify myself, and cause myself to be hallowed, and I will be known in the eyes of many nations. And they will know that I am Yhwh." In 39.1–6 Gog is summoned to the mountains of Israel, disarmed, dies, is consumed by wild animals, and the homelands of Gog and his allies are destroyed. The pericope concludes with the following parenthetical (vv. 7–8).

> And the name, my holy one, I will make known in the midst of my people Israel, and I will not let my holy name be polluted again. And the nations will know that I am Yhwh, Holy One in Israel. Behold, it is coming, and will be done – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh – This is the day of which I have spoken.

Finally, in Ezek 39.21–24 the prophet explains the exile as a just punishment. God was not powerless to prevent it (per 20.39–44; 36.20–21). Rather, he caused it.

> And I will set my glory upon the nations, and all the nations will see my judgment that I have done, and my hand, which I have laid upon them. And the house of Israel will know that I am Yhwh their God from that day and forward. And the nations will know that the house of Israel was exiled for their iniquity, because they were unfaithful to me, so I hid my face from them, and I gave them into the hand of their enemies, and they fell by the sword – all of them. According to their impurity and according to their transgressions I have acted with them, and hid my face from them."

The author of GO has reformulated Ezekiel's name motif in three ways. (1) The return of the exiles is not sufficient to resanctify God's name. The nations must also be judged (39.7–8 and 21–24). This coincides with 28.25–26, where the surrounding nations are judged at the time of the return.[109] In the Gog Oracles, though, this is expanded to encompass all the nations. The reason the nations must be judged is provided in 39.21–24. The destruction of Gog's hosts will lead the nations to *interpret* the exile differently. They will recognize that "the house of Israel was exiled because of their iniquity," not because God was derelict or deficient in the defense of his people.[110] (2) God will destroy Gog and his allies on the mountains of Israel to demonstrate his sovereignty before the *Israelites* ("I will make my holy name known in the midst of my people Israel"; 39.7).[111]

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[109] Only in 28.25–26 and GO do we find the motifs of profanation of God's name, return from exile, and judgment on the nations appearing together.

[110] The last paragraph in GO, 39.25–29, repeats that God will "show [him]self holy among them in the eyes of many nations" (v. 27), and that he will "no longer hide his face from them" (v. 29).

[111] This also may have been inspired by 28.25–26. In 28.25 God says, "I will be sanctified *among them* [Israel] in the sight of the nations."

God's reputation has also been damaged in Israel's eyes, so the act that will restore God's reputation must also be performed for them. (3) According to 38.16 and 39.7–8, the location of the judgment matters. To repair Yhwh's reputation, it is not enough to punish far-off nations (cf. 39.6). The destruction has to occur in the context of a conflict with Israel to effectively reveal to Israel and the nations that God could have protected Israel at the time of the exile (39.21–24). This explains why God incites Gog to invade Israel.[112] God says, "I will bring you against my land, in order that the nations know me" (38.16bβ).

Ezekiel, as a whole, manifests a deterministic view of Israel's history. Israel's survival, from her origins to the present, is due not to her merit but to God's concern for his name (20.41, 44; 28.25; 36.23). All that has happened in Israel's history is for Yhwh's name's sake.[113] Neither Israel nor the nations can interfere with this priority. The author of GO extends this determinism to include the nations of the earth. This accounts for the conspicuous silence on the topic of Gog's crime. What has Gog done that makes him deserve this punishment? For the author this is irrelevant. Israel receives certain benefits in order to resanctify God's name (20.44; 36.22). Conversely, the nations endure certain penalties for the same end (28.25–26; 38.23).[114]

For the author of GO, drawing the nations into this deterministic future resolves one of the book's silences. Israel's past and her future are predetermined, but what of the nations? Surely if God has a plan for *all* his people in Diaspora, it must also account for the nations. GO resolves this silence by adapting the name motif to include all nations. The reapplication of judgments against Israel (Ezek 6; Jer 7; Isa 34; etc.) to Gog and his allies redresses a breach of justice. How can any wicked foreigner escape judgment where God's people cannot?[115] The solution, for the author of GO, is to predict a coming day of judgment against *all* the nations, in

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[112] Of the prophetic texts that envisage a global war between the nations and Israel, in which the enemy is impelled by God to invade Israel and then dies at God's hand (Isa 17.12–14; 29.1–8; 66.14–24; Joel 2.1–11; 4.1–21; Zeph 3.8–13; Zech 12.1–9; 14.1–15), none provide a clear explanation of why the nations are forced to do this.

[113] Greenberg observes (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 384): "Ezekiel seems to have innovated the idea that even before Israel entered its land God had decreed both the exile and the sin that would justify it" (// Gen 15.13–16).

[114] This reflects the sentiments of Ezekiel as well. For Ezekiel preserving God's reputation is its own justification. "Justification of God's conduct and vindication of his honor is primary – and worth almost any cost in human freedom" (Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 385).

[115] This mirrors the concern of Habakkuk who laments, "Your eyes are too pure to behold evil, and you cannot look on wrongdoing. Why do you look on the treacherous, and remain silent when the wicked swallow those more righteous than themselves?" (1.13).

which they receive punishments comparable with those inflicted upon Israel. Gog, then, is paradigmatic of all nations who are hostile to Israel.

b. Inauguration of the End

There is nothing in Ezekiel to suggest that fulfillment of the oracles of restoration will not follow immediately after the exile. The oracles of restoration in Ezekiel do not provide and explicit time period for anticipated restoration. Ezekiel 6.1–14 indicates that the deportees will begin to feel remorse for their past sins while still in exile (esp. 6.9). One might anticipate from this that forgiveness and restoration should follow quickly. The next promise to regather and transform the people, Ezek 11.17–21, is addressed to the exiles of the first deportation. It also suggests that they are to be recipients of the restoration promises, but the restoration has not yet emerged when Jerusalem falls. Ezekiel 16.53–63, addressed to all Judah's survivors, promises to "restore the fortunes of your captives" (16.53), heightening readers' expectation of an imminent restoration. This is reaffirmed by 36.1–15 and 16–23b. The judgment oracle in 36.1–15 announces that the exiles are "about to arrive" (36.8), and in 36.16–23b God promises that he is "about to act" to restore the holiness of his name (v. 22). Ezekiel 37.1–14, addressed to the "whole house of Israel" (whose hopes died with Judah) envisions the fulfillment of the nation's political hopes.[116] All this suggests that the restoration would be granted to the Babylonian exiles of the first and second deportations immediately after the completion of the exile.

One of the primary purposes served by the addition of GO to the book is to clarify the time of the anticipated restoration. This clarification is accomplished by setting the restoration of Israel after the invasion of Gog (esp. 39.25–29) and setting Gog's invasion in the eschaton. In 39.25–29, a number of restoration motifs are bundled together: shame, peace, universal return, divine presence, and transformation of the people. These elements of the restoration are then cast into the future, beyond the Gog invasion and purification of the land. The temporal shift is accomplished in 39.25, "Therefore thus says the Lord Yhwh, 'Then I will restore the fortunes of Jacob, and have mercy upon all the house of Israel, and will be jealous for my holy name.'"[117] The full restoration promised by the book must wait

[116] The other restoration oracles evoked in GO (20.39–44; 28.25–26; 34.1–31), though also addressed to exiles, are more ambiguous about the anticipated time of restoration.

[117] For עתה meaning "then," compare 1 Sam 2.16; Josh 14.11, Mic 4.7 (see E. Jenni, "Zur Verwendung von עַתָּה," 5–12; *HALOT* 2:901–2). Block (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 485) suggests that עתה in 39.25 is "snatching the hearers' attention away from the distant utopian future, and returning them to the very real needs of the present." But there are no examples of עתה used this way, with the sense of "now [to return to matters of the present]."

until after a massive invasion, undertaken by the far-flung nations of the earth.[118] The time of this invasion is established as "after many days," מימים רבים (38.8), "in the latter years," באחרית השנים (38.8), and "in the latter days," באחרית הימים (38.16; see *Excursus B*). In other words, the Gog invasion is viewed as the last event before the emergence of a new age of peace and blessing for Israel.

This raises the question of intent. Why did the author of GO insert a narrative about a global invasion into the book of Ezekiel and situate the restoration in the eschaton, beyond the return from Babylon? It was not to account for unfulfilled prophecies.[119] It was not an attempt to reassign oracles about the post-539 B.C.E. restoration to the eschaton in order to compensate for their failure to be fulfilled. The oracles of restoration may *suggest* that restoration and unbroken peace will follow immediately after the completion of Babylonian exile. But the absence of specific temporal designations in Ezekiel's oracles, in the words of R. P. Carroll, "immunizes them from failure."[120]

The primary motive is harmonization. The author of GO has harmonized the restoration oracles in Ezekiel with depictions of the restoration in other eschatological prophetic texts. The author inserted a set of oracles about a massive invasion of Israel, in which God incites the invasion but then fights for Israel, destroys the enemy with cosmic actions, and pours out unrestricted blessings on Israel in an age of peace. This insertion aligns the book with similar oracles in Isaiah (17.12–14; 29.1–8; 66.14–24), Joel (2.1–11; 4.1–21), and Zephaniah (3.8–13).

c. Sequence of Future Events

GO is a postexilic composition. For the author of GO, the return from Babylon and resettlement of Yehud were a reality. Inasmuch as return and resettlement are part of the restoration promises, not every promised element of the restoration could be fixed in the eschaton. The author was forced to divide the fulfillment of the restoration oracles into two stages. In the first

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[118] Eichrodt expresses this well, "what had hitherto appeared to be the final turning-point introducing the new aeon [the return from Babylon] now took on the character of a merely provisional objective" (*Ezekiel*, 521; also Driver, *Introduction*, 291).

[119] As has been suggested, for example, by Hossfeld (*Untersuchungen*, 501), Wevers (*Ezekiel*, 283), and Clements (*Ezekiel*, 170).

[120] Robert P. Carroll, "Eschatological Delay in the Prophetic Tradition?" *ZAW* 94 (1982): 57. A rare exception is Ezek 12.26–28, "And the word of the Lord came to me, saying, 'Son of man, behold, the house of Israel is saying, The vision that he is seeing is for many days off, and he is prophesying of distant times. Therefore say to them, Thus says the Lord Yhwh, "It will not be postponed any longer – all my words. That which I speak, a word, it will be done," says the Lord Yhwh.'" But note that 12.26–28 is absent in Pap^{967} and is generally taken to be a later expansion.

stage, some exiles had already returned and settled into an agrarian life. This stage will culminate in the invasion and destruction of Gog. In the second stage, following Gog's invasion, the entire Diaspora will return and all the restoration promises will be poured out on the people: universal return, Davidic monarch, covenant of peace, transformation of the people, multiplication of the people, reunified nation, rebuilt temple, resurrected cult, and divine presence (per 37.24–28 and 39.25–29).

GO, then, depicts a partial return (38.8; cf. 39.27), a rural resettlement (38.11–12), and some measure of peace and prosperity (38.8, 11–13).

(8) After many days you will be summoned. In the latter years you will come to a land – the one brought back from the sword, gathered out of many peoples – unto the mountains of Israel, which were a perpetual waste, but it was brought forth out of the nations, and they [now] dwell securely all of them . . . (11) And you will say, "I will go up against a land of homesteads. I will come against those at rest secure inhabitants, all of them dwell without a wall, and they have neither bar nor gates, (12) in order to take spoil, and in order to collect booty" – in order to turn your hand against the desolate places which are inhabited, and against the people regathered from the nations, who have acquired cattle and goods, inhabitants in the navel of the earth.

The community in the land at the time of Gog's invasion has returned from exile (// 11.17; 20.34, 41; 28.25; 34.13; cf. 6.8), cultivated the land (// 28.25–26; 34.26–27; 36.8–11), and dwells upon it securely (// 28.26 bis; 34.25, 28). The land, though, is described as largely unreconstructed. It is a "ruin" (חרבה, 38.12), and the people are living on scattered agrarian homesteads (פרזות, 38.11).[121] This corresponds with the situation in Judah following the second deportation as described by 33.27 and 36.4. The author of the GO is careful to avoid the more common Ezekielian terms שממה, שמה, and משמה (6.14, bis; 12.20; 14.15, 16; 15.2; 23.33; 29.9, 10, 12; 32.15; 33.28, 29; 35.3, 4, 7, 9, 14, 15; 36.34).[122] These terms are more general, used to indicate that the land is uninhabited and uncultivated.[123] The author affirms that there has been a partial return and resettlement, but depicts the land's urban centers and towns as not yet having been restored.[124]

[121] The depiction of the condition of the land in GO hangs on these two lexemes; see the translation notes (ch. 4).

[122] Omitting cases where משמה means "horror."

[123] See especially 32.15; 33.28; 35.7; 36.34.

[124] This description of the land in ruins is not congruent with that in Ezek 39.9a, "And the inhabitants of *the cities* of Israel will go forth, and will burn, and they will build fires with the war supplies." The unexpected appearance of cities in 39.9a clarifies the author's intentions in depicting the land as a "ruin." The author of GO chose to describe the land with the locution "ruins" (חרבה), not because it was the most precise term, but to mark the allusions to 33.27–29 and 36.1–15. The author is concerned to depict the land without urban centers, mainly because Jerusalem has not yet been restored. Depicting the land as a "ruin" relieves him of discussing the condition of Jerusalem, a topic on which the author is conspicuously silent.

In 28.25–26 and 36.1–15, judgment on the surrounding nations was linked with the resettlement: ". . . they will dwell securely, when I have executed judgments upon all those despising them round about" (v. 26b). For a peaceful resettlement to occur, the surrounding nations had first to be chastened. This too may be implied in GO. The settlers, though defenseless, are cast as peaceful farmers, who live peacefully, unmolested by their neighbors. This may be one of the reasons that the author identified Gog's allies with far-off nations of the world. Following the war with Gog, this promise of peace for Israel is reaffirmed and expanded in 39.26. "And they will bear their shame, and all their unfaithfulness, by which they acted unfaithfully with me *when they dwell upon their land securely, and there is no one to cause fear.*" Israel will be secure in her land, not because she is capable of defending herself, but because no nation will have the ability to attack her. This vision of a future without enemies corresponds with that in Isa 9.5–7; Jer 30.10–11; Hos 2.20 [Eng. v. 18], and Joel 2.18–27.[125]

GO, then, clarifies that the time of the fulfillment of the oracles of restoration in two ways. First, it provides an observable historical marker immediately preceding the restoration, a massive invasion by a confederacy of the world's nations.[126] Second, it divides the restoration into previously unanticipated stages. The restoration of the author's day did not coincide with most of the promised elements in Ezekiel's oracles of restoration. The author of the Gog Oracles, then, acknowledged the partial fulfillment of some of those promises and deferred the rest of the restoration promises to the period following the war with Gog.[127]

This reflects one of the author's pressing concerns: the restoration of the natural world order. As he envisions it, this entails a peaceful, protected, pious Israel, who should not and, indeed, does not suffer greater judgments than do the Gentile nations who have afflicted her.

The notion that the land will remain a ruin until after a war with Israel's oppressors is also refelected in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel. "'Look, O son of man, at the land of Israel.' And I said, 'I have seen, Lord, and behold it lies waste (חרבה), and when will you gather them together?' And the Lord said, 'A Son of Belial will scheme to oppress my people but I will not allow him; and his kin will not survive, nor will there be left for the impure one any seed'" (4Q386, lines 1–4). See Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4, Vol. XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4. Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 62–63.

[125] This same image of unbroken peace appeared in Ezek 34.25–31. That oracle, however, does not associate transformation with peace.

[126] Thomas Krüger, *Geschichtskonzepte im Ezechielbuch* (BZAW 180; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 309–10. Cf. quotation from 4QPseudo-Ezekiel in n. 124.

[127] 4QPseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385) shows a similar concern to establish when oracles will be fulfilled. E.g., during the vision of the dry bones Ezekiel asks, "When will these things come about? (l. 9)" He is given the enigmatic answer, "[After da]ys a tree shall bend and stand erect" (l. 10), which may be an allusion to Ezek 17.24, "I bring the high tree low and make the low tree high" (see the discussion in Dimant, DJD 30: 28–29).

2. Adjustment of Topics and Topoi Already in the Book

a. Inward Transformation, Shame, and Restoration

The related themes of transformation, shame, and restoration evolve as the argument of Ezekiel progresses. GO reaffirms many of the book's assertions regarding these motifs, but it also transforms them in new ways. GO identifies another catalyst of the people's shame, expands the restoration to include all the Diaspora, and explains the transformation of the people in harmony with Joel.

In Ezek 6.1–14, it is asserted that the destruction of Judah and the deportation of her survivors to Babylon will lead them to feel shame for their idolatry. In exile, the people will remember God (6.9), reflect upon their sins, and manifest proper feelings of remorse. Ezekiel 11.17–21 ties remorse and shame to return and restoration. The exiles are incapable of repentance (3.7–9; 36.23). Exile alone will not arouse the people's shame. A supernatural intervention of God is needed (11.17–20; 36.22–31). So, God will initiate a transformation of the exiles, giving them a whole heart and a new spirit (11.19). This will enable the people to obey the covenant (11.20) and open the way to regathering and return (11.17).

Thus, the problem of obedience is solved, but a new problem presents itself in 16.59–63. The covenant has already been broken (16.59), so God will also grant Israel a new covenant, one which, in their new condition, they will never break (16.60; cf. 34.25; 37.26).[128] This unilateral action by God to grant them a new covenant will be motivated by his sentimental remembrance of the state of affairs "in the days of your [Israel's] youth" (16.60; cf. 6.9). God's sentimental feelings, his re-creation of the people, and his gift of a new covenant will finally induce the feelings that he seeks from Israel: shame and self-loathing for their past sins that broke the first covenant (16.63).[129] Ezekiel 16.53–63 also clarifies the scope of the restoration. Ezekiel 11.17–21 included exiles from all lands in the restoration, barring the people living in Jerusalem between 597 and 587 B.C.E. Ezekiel 16.53–63 is addressed to the exiles of both deportations, promising restora-

[128] This clarifies the comment in 16.63 that Yhwh will atone for the people. In 16.53–63 restoration precedes transformation and shame. Until transformation occurs, the people are incapable of taking responsibility for their own failings. So Yhwh must atone for them himself, in order to forgive and restore them.

[129] This presentation of the restoration, deliverance followed by obedience, corresponds with the model set forth in the narrative framework of the Torah, where the Sinai tradition follows the exodus tradition. It does not follow the pattern of the P law codes, wherein repentance suspends judgment and initiates reacceptance (see J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance* [Leiden: Brill, 1976], 118–24). This is why the history of Israel in ch. 20 focuses on the exodus and uses it as a paradigm for the future restoration.

tion to them all. Furthermore, it envisions a restoration that includes the North and South, a unified people in a unified land (so 37.15–28).

These motifs reemerge as part of the historical retrospective in Ezek 20. According to chapter 20, Israel's survival has been due entirely to God's compassion and forgiveness. But precisely because God forgives them, he cannot let them go. He is bound to restore, heal, and reform his people. Included in the promise of restoration was a promise that Jerusalem would be restored (16.53–63). Ezekiel 20.39–44 turns its attention to this issue. Restoration of Jerusalem and restoration of covenant (16.53–63) implies a restoration of the cult. Ezekiel 20.39–44 describes a day when all Israel is restored to the land (20.41) and worships Yhwh in Jerusalem with acceptable offerings and sacrifices (20.40). This restoration of land and cult will lead the people to remember the sins of the past, loath themselves, and accept that Yhwh's harshness was necessary to restore his reputation (20.44).

The vision of dry bones in 37.1–14 adds one small but significant detail to this picture. The focus to this point has been on punishment and restoration as a tool for eliciting remorse and submission from the people. According to 37.1–14, the people will acknowledge Yhwh's sovereignty, when he reconstitutes them as a nation within their own land (37.11 // 20.40) and effects their transformation (37.13–14). The new detail it provides is a clarification of the promised spirit, first mentioned in 11.19. Ezekiel 37.14 clarifies that this is the divine spirit, graciously granted by God to all Israel.[130]

GO presents a composite picture of the motifs of shame, transformation, and restoration taken from 6.1–14, 11.17–21, 16.53–63, 20.39–44, and 37.1–14. God will restore the fortunes of the house of Jacob (39.25 // 16.53–54), that is, all the tribes of Israel (39.25, 27 // 37.11). When the people are restored to the land, they will be ashamed of their past deeds and acknowledge the sovereignty of Yhwh (39.26, 28 // 16.62–63; 20.43–44; cf. 6.9). Moreover, God will never again hide his face from his people, because they will be faithful to him, having been transformed, for God will pour out his spirit on all of them (39.29 // 11.19–20; 37.14).[131]

In addition to situating the restoration, transformation, and Israel's shame in the future, beyond Diaspora and the war with Gog, GO adapts these motifs in three ways. First, the factors that will instigate Israel's shame change as the book progresses, and they change again in GO. In 6.9, exile is expected to prompt the people to feel shame. In 11.17–20 return and transformation inspire their shame. In 16.63 it is the grant of a new coven-

[130] The line "a new spirit I will put within you" is repeated in 36.26 and interpreted in 36.27 as the divine spirit. The author of 36.23c–38 gleaned this interpretation from 37.14.

[131] This covenant fidelity is also implied in the use of locutions from Lev 25.18–19; 26.4–6, 13, 22 that articulate blessings which accompany fidelity to the law.

ant. GO adds a new motivating factor. According to 39.26, two things motivate the people to feel shame: return, and judgment of the nations. When God so chastens the nations that Israel can dwell securely with "no one to cause fear," she will respond with shame for her past indiscretions. Second, the oracles of restoration, on several occasions, predict a return not just of Judean exiles in Babylon but of all Diaspora communities (11.17–18; 20.40–42; 28.25; 36.19; 37.12–14[132]). GO confirms this universal return: "Then they know that I am Yhwh their God, after I exile them among the nations, and I gather them to their own land, and I do not leave any of them behind there" (39.28). The author's adopts the argument of these deliverance oracles because it serves his goal of widening the perspective of the book to global proportions (see below) and conflates Ezekiel's view of the return with that of other prophetic books like Jeremiah (see 30.18; 31.20; 33.26). Third, 39.29 provides an interpretation of the spirit of God, poured out on the people. Ezekiel 39.29 says, "neither will I hide my face from them anymore, because I will have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel." As was argued in chapter 3, this is a deliberate allusion to Joel 3.1–2.

(1) I will pour out my spirit on all flesh;
your sons and your daughters will prophesy.
Your old men will dream dreams,
and your young men will see visions.
(2) Even on the male and female slaves,
in those days, I will pour out my spirit
(3) I will set signs in the heavens and on earth – blood, fire, and columns of smoke.
The sun will be turned to darkness and the moon to blood before the great and terrible day of Yhwh.[133]

The author of GO alluded to Joel 3.1–2 to interpret the gift of the spirit as a gift of prophetic inspiration poured out on all the people in the eschaton.[134] This gift will enable the people to rightly decode the signs of the

[132] Note, especially, the locution כל בית ישׂרעל, "all the house of Israel." This refers, at least once, to the Judahites before 587 B.C.E. (12.10; possibly also 3.7 and 8.10). In most instances, though, it is used for the entire Diaspora (5.4; 20.40; 36.10; 37.11, 16; 39.25; 45.6, 17). The same is true when it appears with the modifier כל/ם, "all of it/them" (contrast 22.18 with 11.15; 20.40; 36.10 [37.34]). See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 261. Though beyond the bounds of the argument here, all of these texts (11.14–21; 20.40–44; 28.25–26; 36.1–23b; 37.1–14, 15–28) are or contain *Fortschreibungen*, updates that reapply them to all Diaspora. See Tooman, "Covenant and Presence," forthcoming.

[133] Note the similar judgments in Joel 3.3 and Ezek 38.22: "And I will execute judgment against him with bleeding (דם) pestilence, and overflowing rain, and hailstones, fire (אשׁ) and brimstone I will rain upon him and upon his hordes and upon the many people who are with him."

[134] This hope is surely predicated on Moses' express desire that all the people be endowed with the spirit of prophecy (Num 11.29).

Day of Yhwh (v. 3). The author of GO, then, interprets the gift of the spirit not only as part of God's inward transformation of the people, enabling covenant obedience, but as the outpouring of prophetic inspiration. We should note that the author does not reinterpret the concept of the new heart. He expands the effects of transformation by exploiting the silence in Ezekiel regarding the meaning of the new spirit. The whole people will be obedient, and all the people will be prophets. Thus, he provides an interpretation of Ezek 11.19 and 37.14 that harmonizes expressions of the transformation motif in Ezekiel and Joel.

With regard to the themes of inward transformation, shame, and restoration, the rhetorical force of GO is directed most strongly against the postexilic Judean community. Namely, the restoration established in the Persian period is not to be identified with the restoration promised by Ezekiel. The restoration promised by Ezekiel is far off. Neither repentance nor cultic fidelity will bring about the anticipated restoration. The initiative belongs to God. One day, he will act to judge the nations of the earth and initiate the restoration.

b. Purity of the Land

The book of Ezekiel is persistent in its condemnation of Judean idolatry, a failing that is often expressed in terms of the land's defilement. The land is defiled by the presence of pagan shrines and by the exposed corpses of Judeans whom God has slain for their sins. The book of Ezekiel never resolves the issue of the land's defilement, so the motif is addressed and resolved by the author of GO by means of a unique application of purity law.[135]

Defilement of the land and the people is a prominent motif in 6.1–14, 11.17–21, and 20.39–44. In 6.1–14 God addresses his judgment to the "mountains of Israel" for sins committed on the high places (vv. 3–4, 6, 9, 13). In judgment for Israel's acts of abomination (vv. 9, 11) God will overturn the high places, kill the people, and make the land a desolation (vv. 6, 11–12, 14). In particular, he vows to "cast your slain before your idols" and "put the corpses of the children of Israel before their idols" and "scatter your bones around your idols" (vv. 4–5, 7). Corpses defile everything in their presence. They defile people or cult objects that touch them (Num 19.13; 31.19; 2 Kgs 23.16), the dwellings in which a person expired (Num 19.14), and the contents of any vessel left open in their presence (Num 19.15). The slain of Israel in 6.1–14 defile their altars before which they

[135] Thus, when Josiah wishes to defile the high places he exhumes corpses and places them on the altars (2 Kgs 23.16).

are cast.[136] Corpses, in certain cases, can also defile the land itself. The land can only be cleansed of innocent blood, for example, by shedding the blood of the murderer (Num 35.33–34), and the corpses of those receiving capital punishment pollute the land if they are not interred the same day (Deut 21.23).

However, Ezek 6.1–14 betrays the fact that defilement of the land is not the real issue in view. The "mountains of Israel" represent the people, as is revealed by the judgments, which cannot be applied to mountains (e.g., "I will cast down your slain" [v.4], "I will scatter your bones" [v.5], "in order that your works may by wiped out" [v.7]). Thus, the image of slain lying on the high places is both figurative and literal. The people's cultic defilement is depicted by unburied corpses defiling the (figurative) land. But the corpses are also a literal depiction of the judgment for idolatry, invasion, and slaughter.

The oracle of deliverance in Ezek 11.17–21 picks up this motif and promises a reversal of this condition. One day, the exiles will return, and they will again receive the land as a gift from God's hand (11.17). When that happens, the people will cleanse the land by removing all of its "detestable things and abominations" (11.18 // 6.9, 11). The land is not cleansed by interring the corpses of Judah's pagan dead. It is purified by removing unacceptable cult objects and sites, which accords with the real–world condition denoted by the image. Ezekiel 16.53–58 also addresses the people's purification, but it does so indirectly, in terms of atonement. God will unilaterally forgive his people their past sins (16.63), since they are incapable of reforming their behavior.

Ezekiel 20.39–44 picks up threads from all three of these passages and ties them together. It speaks plainly about defilement (6.1–14; 11.17–18), omitting the image of the defiled land altogether. Verse 43 asserts that the *people* have been defiled by their wickedness, and that this resulted in their exile. It is the people, then, who need cleansing. Drawing on the motifs of 6.1–14, 11.17–21 and 16.53–63, Ezek 20.39–44 depicts a restoration of the people and cult that results in God "accepting his people."[137]

From these passages we can see a development in the motif of defilement and purification of the land. In Ezek 6.1–14 the image of a defiled land is used as a circumlocution for the people, who have defiled themselves through abominable cult practices. As the book progresses, the

[136] O. Eissfeldt, "Schwerterschlagene," 73–81. This same motif, God slaying sinful Judahites and leaving their corpses unburied, occurs in Ezek 9.7, Jer 8.1, and 22.29. See M. Cogan, "A Note on Disinterment in Jeremiah," *Gratz College Anniversary Volume* (Philadelphia: Gratz College, 1971): 29–34.

[137] The theme of land defilement also appears in 36.16. Ezek 36.16 merely reaffirms the defilement of the land, effected by the inappropriate cult practices of the people.

oracles of restoration progressively drop the image in favor of the reality, eventually speaking of the defilement and reacceptance of the people without metaphor.

Ezekiel 39.24 affirms that the idolatry of Israel defiled the people. It describes the exile as a consequence of "their uncleanness" and "their transgressions." "I have acted with them according to their uncleanness and according to their transgressions, and hid my face from them." The topic of the people's purification is implicitly taken up again in 39.29: "Neither will I hide my face any more from them, because I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel." In GO, the people's uncleanness and transgressions resulted in God hiding his face from them. God will look on them again, not when he forgives (16.63) or when the proper forms of worship are renewed (20.39–44), but when he pours out his spirit on them. Thus, for the author of GO, acceptance is tied to the transformation and prophetic inspiration of the people.[138]

The topic of the land's defilement and purification receives separate and extensive attention in 39.11–16. Whereas Ezekiel focuses on the defilement of the land as an *image* for defilement of the people, the author of GO is concerned with the actual defilement of the land due to the presence of unburied corpses on it. Ezekiel 39.11–16 describes the arduous process of interring the dead of Gog's host. It necessitates full-time burial teams (v. 14), the assistance of all the people in the land (v. 13), and requires more than seven months to complete (vv. 12, 14). The detailed attention given to this issue attests to its importance for the author. Three times he stresses the purpose of this activity: "in order to cleanse the land" (v. 12), "in order to cleanse it" (v. 14), "they will cleanse the land" (v. 16). The author of Go is forced to address the issue of corpse defilement in the context of Gog's invasion, and he provides an elaborate account of the people's work to restore the land's purity. The author's concern may also have been motivated by the fact that Ezekiel, albeit metaphorically, raises the issue of uninterred corpses and their effects without resolving them (see esp. 6.1–14). The repurification of the land in 39.11–16 lays all these acts of defilement to rest, tying off another of the book's loose threads.

The author's account is, itself, a creative reapplication of Deuteronomic and Priestly laws regarding corpses. Based on the related notions that corpses are intrinsically unclean (H, P) and that corpses of the executed, in particular, can defile the land (D), the author asserted that the future slaughter of Gog's host will defile the land. In other words, based on a

[138] This is a profound rejection of religious assumptions regarding the efficacy of sacrifice. Rebuilding the temple and restoring the cult, no matter how thorough or well intentioned, will not necessarily result in forgiveness and acceptance. A similar argument can be seen, e.g., in Mal 1.10 and 1QS 2.4–17.

more severe case (the executed can defile the land) the author argues for a lesser condition as well (the war-dead can render the land ritually impure). That the impurity is a ritual defilement, rather than moral one, is clearly indicated by the fact that the land can be cleansed simply by interring the human remains. Neither sacrifice nor other priestly services are explicitly required.

The effect of unburied corpses on the land's purity is not addressed in Ezekiel. Ezekiel's focus is restricted to religious infidelity (esp. 6.1–14; chs. 8–11; 20.1–32) and restoration of proper cult practice (esp. 20.39–44). For the author of GO, this loose thread requires resolution. Ezekiel 39.11–16, though unnecessary to the plot of Ezek 38–39, is included to settle the issue. Ezekiel 39.11–16 reflects a pious priestly concern for the purity of the land, one which corresponds well with chapters 40–48.

c. Determinism and Globalization

Ezekiel is intensely theocentric, focused on Yhwh's presence, God's reputation, God's recognition, God's prerogatives, God's incomparability, and God's sovereignty.[139] The book's primary message is Yhwh's rights and dominion over Israel. This is, perhaps, most obvious in chapter 20, wherein Israel's past, present, and future are mapped as a continuous divine plan. Although Israel's history has been determined, very little is said in the book about the nations. How far does Yhwh's deterministic plan extend: just to the neighboring nations (chs. 25–32) or to all the nations?

This questions was resolved, in part, by the judgment of the nations in GO, represented by Gog and his horde. For the author of GO, the fate of the nations is also foreordained. They will be forced to invade Israel, and they will be destroyed for it. This too is done for the sake of God's reputation. "And the nations will know that I am Yhwh, the Holy One in Israel. Behold, it is coming, and will be done" (39.7b–8a). The determinism of GO places it within the emerging intellectual stream of Jewish apocalypticcism and elevates the theocentric qualities of the book.[140] It is not just Israel's fate that is foreordained in order to reveal God's sanctity. The na-

[139] See esp. the work of Paul Joyce, *Divine Initiative and Human Response*; "Ezekiel and Moral Transformation," in *Transforming Visions: Transformations of Text, Tradition, and Theology in Ezekiel* (ed. William A. Tooman and Michael A. Lyons; PTMS 127; Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2010), 139–58.

[140] A similar global and universal perspective emerges in late prophetic texts like Joel and Isa 60–66, and it becomes a staple of apocalyptic literature like Daniel, Jubilees, Apocalypse of Weeks, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch. For a synthetic discussion of these features see Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, vol. 1: *Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 175–218; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2d ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 2–21.

tion's fates, too, are fashioned to reveal the glory and majesty of the deity. The author of GO also widened the book's perspective regarding the nations. Gog represents much more than just a foe from the "far reaches of the north." He and his allies represent all the nations of the earth (see ch. 3, *"Ezekiel 38.1–6"*). The author's reuse of the nations from Gen 10 and Isa 66 widened the books perspective to global proportions. The fate of the whole world is encompassed within Yhwh's plan for Gog. And this fate follows a pattern, one established by Yhwh's treatment of nations in the past, nations like Assyria (Isa 10, 14), Babylon (Isa 14, Jer 49), Edom (Isa 34), and Judah herself (Ezek 6; Zeph 1).

II. Unintended Effects of Reuse

1. Redundancy and Lack of Cohesion on a Local Level

One unavoidable effect of intertwining borrowed phrases, clauses, tropes, and images is that GO tends to be awkward and repetitious. This feature of GO has inspired numerous speculative theories on the redactional history of these two chapters.[141] Commonly cited, for example, are the facts that Gog and his host are consumed by wild animals twice (39.4, 17–20), or that the invaders are consumed by wild animals after they have been buried (39.11–16 and 17–23). Another common example makes reference to the habitations of the returnees. At the beginning of GO the people are depicted as living "without walls" in rural smallholdings (38.8, 11). After the destruction of Gog's horde they are envisioned as inhabiting cities (39.9).

Though the author's compositional technique, pastiche, has resulted in a text that is difficult to scan, it has had a beneficial effect as well. This benefit is one key to the author's purpose, namely, integration. Employing phrases and key words from Ezekiel enabled the author of GO to create cohesion between his composition and the rest of the book. Employing phrases and key words from other texts also integrated GO with a wider body of received eschatological works that would, eventually, find places within the emerging Hebrew canon. All this linguistic and imagistic imitation disguised the addition, placing GO within the stream of accepted revelatory literature.[142] Thus, although the author's pastiche technique created

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[141] See, e.g., von Rabenau, "Die Entstehung des Buches Ezechiel in vorgeschichtlicher Sicht," 659–94; Lutz, *Jahweh, Jerusalem und die Völker*, 63–84, 125–30; J. Garscha, *Studien zum Ezechielbuch: Eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung von 1–39* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1974), 230–39; Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 494–528; Pohlmann, *Ezechielstudien*, 77–87.

[142] George Brooke has designated this technique "imitative allusion" and illustrated its wide use in poetic and liturgical commentaries from Qumran and in the NT (see "Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and in the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

certain points of incoherence within GO, it also created points of profound coherence between GO and many other works of religious literature.

2. The Genre of the Gog Oracles

Scholars have long disputed the genre of GO, and yet genre has been one of the most common bases for concluding that GO was a later addition to the book. Ezekiel 38–39, it has been argued, represents a genre found nowhere else in the book, and this uniqueness points to a different author or authors who reflect the literary conventions of a later time. According to R. Ahroni, for example, GO "differs widely from the rest of the Book of Ezekiel in content, form, mood, and literary genre . . . alien to the style and train of thought of Ezekiel."[143] The dispute about the genre of GO has revolved around whether or not it should be recognized as a "historical apocalypse"[144] or an "oracle against a foreign nation."[145] The difficulty in assigning a piece of literature to a particular genre is well articulated by Alasdair Fowler. Fowler divided the life of a genre into three stages. In the first stage, the traits and conventions of the genre coalesce until a "formal type" emerges, one which can be distinguished from other genres.[146] In the second stage, the genre is used, developed, and adapted for particular purposes. In the last stage, the genre is deconstructed or subordinated. For example, it might be parodied, reused ironically, or subordinated to new literary or social contexts. A work of literature, depending upon the developmental stage to which it belongs, may be more or less congruent with the "formal type" of the genre.

Based on undisputed examples of apocalyptic literature (1 Enoch, Dan 7–12, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and John's Revelation), J. J. Collins has formulated a definition of the "formal type" apocalypse:

Fifty Years after their Discovery [ed. Lawrence Shiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000], 67–69).

[143] Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 2.

[144] F. Hitzig was the first to apply the title "apocalyptic" to GO (*Ezechiel*, xiv–xv). Hitzig used the term because he saw a heightened use of images and symbols in GO (p. xv). Lorenz Dürr argued that Ezek 38–39 was apocalyptic in that it took up popular religious themes from the preexilic period and projected them into the eschaton (*Die Stellung*, 94). George Cooke detected a shift in the "scale of events" and in the reuse of unfulfilled prophecies that led him to conclude Ezek 38–39 is properly classified as apocalyptic (*Ezekiel*, 407). Ahroni argued that GO is apocalyptic based on their "unrealistic and imaginative" content, their exaggeration, and the inspiration they draw from mythological sources ("Gog Prophecy," 2, 11–15).

[145] Discussed above in *Excursus B*, ch. 4.

[146] "The Life and Death of Literary Forms," *NLH* 2 (1971): 199–216, esp. 200; *Kinds of Literature: A Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 1–48.

"Apocalypse" is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendental reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial in so far as it involves another supernatural world.[147]

If we use Collins's definition as a standard for comparison, GO lacks the generic distinctiveness of apocalyptic literature. It is missing characteristic traits of the genre, like the presence of a heavenly mediator and events in the heavenly realm. Nevertheless, GO does demonstrate many traits of apocalyptic creativity: determinism, cosmic upheaval, global scope, symbolic depiction of reality, and revelation of the future course of history, for example. GO does, in fact, resemble apocalyptic literature more closely than any other postexilic prophecies, with the exception of Isaiah's "little apocalypse" (chs. 24–27) and Zech 1–8, so much so that it is not inappropriate to label GO "proto-apocalyptic."[148]

The following chart demonstrates the points of similarity between the GO and undisputed examples of historical apocalypses.[149]

[147] J. J. Collins, "Toward the Morphology of a Genre" in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (ed. J. J. Collins; *Semeia* 14; Missoula: Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979], 9. Collins's definition was anticipated by P. Vielhauer ("Apocalypses and Related Subjects," in *New Testament Apocrypha* [ed. E. Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; vol. II; Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991-92], 581–607 [orig. pub. 1904]) and Russell (*Method and Message*, 104–39).

[148] The "little apocalypse" speaks of the end of death (25.8) and resurrection of the dead (26.19). Zech 1–8 includes traits of apocalyptic like a heavenly mediator, descriptions of activities in the heavenly realm, and a heavenly messiah. (See H. Gese, "Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch," *ZTK* 70 [1973]: 20–49; R. North, "Prophecy to Apocalyptic via Zechariah," in *Congress Volume: Uppsala, 1971* [VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1971], 47–71).

[149] The elements and design of this chart are drawn from Vielhauer ("Apocalypses," 581–607) and Collins ("Morphology," 1–28). A question mark indicates that the presence of the element in question is disputed or implicit.

	Gog Oracles	2 Baruch	4 Ezra	Jubilees	Apocalypse of Weeks	Animal Apocalypse	Daniel
Pseudonymity	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Revelation of future course of history	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Cosmogony	?	•	•				
Deterministic view of history	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
An element of dualism (in history, humanity, and/or the divine realm)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Pessimism	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Universalism	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Recollection of the past		•	•				
Ex eventu prophecy		•	•	•	•	•	•
Appearance of an interpreter		•	•	•	•	•	•
Persecution	•	•	•			•	•
Other eschatological upheavals	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Judgment/destruction of wicked	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Judgment/destruction of world	?	?	•		•		
Judgment/destruction of otherworldly beings				•	•	•	•
Cosmic transformation		•	•	?	•	•	•
Resurrection		•	•		?	•	•
Other forms of afterlife				•	?	?	

As this chart illustrates, the primary apocalyptic conventions missing from GO are an interest in the heavenly realm (otherworldly beings, mediators, visions of events in heaven) and a telic view of history (cosmic transformation, the afterlife).

The earliest examples of true Jewish apocalyptic literature, by Collins's definition, originate in the Hellenistic period. Portions of 1 Enoch (the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks) can be dated to the early second or late third centuries B.C.E.[150] The second century B.C.E. is the critically accepted date of Dan 7–12. GO does not represent the degree of generic distinctiveness observable in the earliest historical apocalypses. Based on this, some have argued that the late third century B.C.E. is the *terminus ad quem* for GO.[151] All the distinctive features of apocalyptic are

[150] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 5–7, 31.

[151] Establishing a *terminus ad quo* has proven to be more difficult. Many scholars have identified Babylonian influences in the apocalyptic literature. No one argues that all

present in Persian literature, but Persian sources are notoriously difficult to date. The only Persian text manifesting all the principal features of historical apocalypses is the *Bahman Yasht*, which cannot be dated with certainty.[152] Thus, the generic features of GO do not appear in ancient Near Eastern literature until after the Babylonian period, and they are already present in Hellenistic Jewish literature by the late third century B.C.E. This evidence has led many scholars (cited in the footnotes here) to conclude that GO was written significantly after the exilic oracles that make up most of Ezekiel, and before 1 Enoch and Daniel.

Reasonable as this argument is, identifying GO as pastiche raises a difficulty for this thesis. The Gog Oracles have been constructed from elements of preexisting pieces of literature, not just locutions, but themes, images, tropes, and subplots, elements which are often associated with the genre "apocalyptic" or "proto-apocalyptic." Many of the works of literature that served as sources for GO are antiques from the historical perspective of its author. Thus, the genre of GO is not useful as a measure for the date of its composition. GO, then, is not just an example of emerging Jewish apocalyptic literature, it is pastiche, and, as pastiche, many of its generic features reflect the literary features and qualities already manifest in its sources. Thus, GO might appear to be "of an age" with its sources when, in fact, it is their heir and successor.

III. Conclusion: Effects of Reuse

The author's concerns and approach resulted in a creative expansion of the prophetic tradition. Because the main topics of GO, the vindication of Israel and fate of the nations, are barely apparent in Ezekiel, the author deems it necessary to expand the book. Judgment is announced against neighboring countries in chapters 25–32 and 35, but several prominent na-

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the features of apocalyptic are present in Babylonian materials, but there are significant parallels between Jewish apocalyptic texts and Babylonian mantic wisdom and dream accounts (see J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* [HSM 16; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977], 67–88; J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, [CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984]; H. S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* [WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1987]). Still, GO has no generic affinities with Babylonian precursors.

[152] The Zoroastrian scripture, the Avesta, contains many parallels to Jewish apocalyptic texts. It was collected during the Sassanian period (221–642 C.E.), and most portions of the Avesta (including the *Bahman Yasht*) cannot be accurately dated (see M. Boyce, "On the Antiquity of Zoroastrian Apocalyptic," *BSOAS* 47 [1984]: 57–75; A. Hultgård, "Bahman Yasht: A Persian Apocalypse," in J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth, eds., *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies Since the Uppsala Colloquium*, JSPSup 9 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991): 114–34; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 29–33).

tions from Ezekiel's day are conspicuously absent. The only statements in Ezekiel about the future of *all* nations use the phrase "in the sight of the nations," which reveals little beyond the fact that the nations will persevere after Israel's restoration.[153] The nations are also conspicuously absent from the vision of the future temple in chapters 40–48. Their place and role in the eschaton is cloudy at best. This omission is surely one of the principal factors that prompted the author of GO to craft his oracle.

The author of GO chose to fill this gap in Ezekiel's argument not by freely composing a new work with new ideas but by reusing extant themes and ideas, in effect harmonizing Ezekiel with other scriptural witnesses. This harmonization had the effect of making the book more deterministic and global. This is not to say that GO is merely a catalogue and combination of ideas from other Scriptures. As Moshe Bernstein observes, "All rewriting is commentary, and the methodology of selection, rearrangement, supplementation, and omission in the process of rewriting is a form of commentary."[154] The author of GO contributes to existing prophecy in his specific delineation of the time and circumstances of Israel's vindication. First of all, the author set Israel's anticipated restoration in the eschaton. Most facets of the restoration are placed in the "end of days" (38.8, 16): days of universal peace and harmony, uncorrupted fidelity to Yhwh, and renewal of divine attention (39.21–29).[155] This specification, mirrored later in Dan 11–12, may have been motivated by a desire to addresses the people's understandable disappointment with circumstances in and around Jerusalem during much of the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The return and restoration compared poorly with the vision of the restoration painted by the prophets. GO is explicit that the promised restoration is still to come and should not to be identified with the contemporary community or its circumstances. Second, the author of GO divided the restoration into stages. Return and resettlement are part of the restoration promises, but for the author of GO, the resettlement of Yehud was a past reality. As a result, not every element of the restoration could be fixed in the eschaton. The author of GO was forced to divide the fulfillment of the restoration oracles into two parts. In the first

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[153] "In the eyes of the nations," לעיני הגוים, is a stock element in Ezekiel's idiolect. It does occur outside of the book (Lev 26.45; Isa 5.10; Pss 66.7; 98.2; 2 Chr 32.23), but two-thirds of all occurrences in the HB are from the book of Ezek (5.8; 20.9, 14, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25; 38.16 [as a broken phrase], 23; 39.27; cf. 26.3; 31.6).

[154] "Interpretation of Scriptures," in *EDSS* 1.379.

[155] Considering that the author of Ezek 38–39 could have persistently referred to these future events with the generic temporal designation "in that day," ביום ההוא, as other oracles in the book do (20.6; 23.38, 39; 24.26, 27; 29.21; 30.9; 38.10, 14, 18, 19; 39.11; 45.22), the appearance of "in the last years," באחרית השנים, and "in the end of days," באחרית הימים, is conspicuous. Still, the translation of אחרית הימים is hotly disputed (see discussion in *Excursus A: On the Meaning of* אחרית הימים).

stage, some exiles will have returned and settled into an agrarian life (38.8, 11–13). This period will culminate in the invasion and destruction of Gog. In the second stage, the entire Diaspora will return (39.28) and all the restoration promises will be poured out on the people: universal return, Davidic monarch, covenant of peace, transformation of the people, multiplication of the people, reunified nation, rebuilt temple, resurrected cult, and divine presence (37.21–28 and 39.21–29).

C. Motives of Scriptural Reuse: Expansion of the Prophetic Tradition

The topics of this chapter are the author's *methods*, *effects*, and *motives*. Only *motives* remain. By this point, having already examined the form and composition of GO, its reuse of Scripture, the author's exegetical and compositional strategies, and the effects of GO on the book of Ezekiel, I have already made many claims about the author's motives. Still, because these claims are scattered throughout the preceding chapters, it seems good to sum them up before moving on to the conclusion. When presented together, these motives give shape to the author's internal life. They point out the attitudes and assumptions that gave birth to his motives: an acceptance of a body of religious literature as revelation, and an assumption of the coherence, cohesion, and relevance of all the parts of this body of literature.

I. "I Spoke in Former Days": Ezekiel 38.17 and 39.8

Throughout this study, I have avoided any comment on Ezek 38.17. This verse stands out. It is disconnected from the oracles juxtaposed with it.[156] Addressing Gog, God asks, "Are you the one of whom I spoke formerly, by the hand of my servants the prophets of Israel . . . ?"[157] Embedded, as it is, within a book whose perceptual point of view is from inside the interaction between God and the prophet, this utterance seems out of place. It is an overt reference to preexisting prophecies about Gog of Magog that are shared by the audience and the author. How this verse can be understood

[156] The Masoretes bracketed the verse with *setumôt*, separating it from the surrounding context.

[157] The interrogative is missing in Septuagint, Peshitta and Vulgate, leading most commentators to eliminate it as a dittography. As Cornill points out, we should anticipate the interrogative negative הלא for a question at this point (*Ezechiel*, 425; *nota bene*, Isa 51.9, 10; Jer 14.22; 2 Chr 20.6). If Cornill and the versions are correct, Block's ("Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 170–72; *Ezekiel 25–48*, 453–54) and Fitzpatrick's (*Disarmament*, 93) contention that the question demands a negative answer evaporates.

with respect to scriptural prophecies in general or the prophetic books in particular is dictated largely by the translation of בימים קדמונים and the identity of "my servants the prophets of Israel," עבדי נביאי ישראל.[158]

One of two translations is usually suggested for בימים קדמונים: "in ancient days" or "in former days."[159] Regardless of the translation equivalent selected, most commentators understand this to mean that "my servants the prophets of Israel" lived and prophesied many years before the author of GO put pen to page.[160] The phrase "in former days" is unique to Ezek 38.17 but finds a close parallel in Mal 3.4. Malachi speaks of the pleasing offerings given by Judah and Jerusalem in "ancient days . . . bygone years" (ימי עולם . . . שנים קדמוניות). Variations on קדמוני also appear in 1 Sam 24.14 and Isa 43.18.[161] Of these three texts, only Isa 43.18 has a specific time from antiquity in view: the period of the exodus. Malachi 3.4 refers more vaguely to those rare periods of the monarchy when Israel served Yhwh faithfully. First Samuel 24.14 makes reference to a "proverb of the ancients" (משל הקדמני). In each of these cases קדמון indicates a period that is long past from the point of view of the speaker.[162] From the point of view

[158] Some scholars have argued, on the grounds that other oracles about Gog of Magog are unknown in MT, that these oracles are now lost (F. Hitzig, *Ezechiel*, 294; Ewald, "Hézeqiél,"189; Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, 248; I. G. Matthews, *Ezekiel* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939], 145). Others suggest that 38.17 merely refers to older, general announcements of judgment (J. Skinner, *The Book of Ezekiel* [The Expositor's Bible; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895], 372; J. F. Starck, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel* [Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1876], 2:169; C. L. Feinberg, *The Prophecy of Ezekiel. The Glory of the Lord* [Chicago: Moody Press, 1969], 225). However, we should note that oracles about Gog do appear in the versions of Num 24 and Amos 7, and that Magog appears in the Table of Nations in Gen 10. Moreover, the verse seems to anticipate that the reader may not know Gog by name, since it deliberately identifies him as the referent of other prophetic oracles (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 299–304; R. Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 14–15).

[159] BDB, 870; *HALOT*, 3.1071.

[160] E.g., Hitzig (*Ezechiel*, 294), Cooke (*Ezekiel*, 414), Hölscher (*Hesekiel*, 182–83), Eichrodt (*Ezekiel*, 520, 524–25), Fohrer (*Ezechiel*, 215), Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 288, 312), and Allen (*Ezekiel 20–48*, 198, 206). A few commentators, however, argue that "in former days," בימים קדמונים, is wholly ambiguous, referring to any past time. By this argument, the prophet Ezekiel may well have penned 38.17, even if the Gog Oracles are found to incorporate elements from the prophecies of his exilic contemporaries. See, e.g., Hengstenberg (*Ezekiel*, 337–38), C. F. Keil (*Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel 29–48* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966], 168–69), Odell ("Are You He," 228), and Block ("Gog in Prophetic Tradition," 154–72; *Ezekiel 25–48*, 452–55). All of these interpreters stress the antiquity of the phrase עבדי נביאים (esp. Amos 3.7) and neglect the sense of the temporal phrase בימים קדמונים.

[161] The lexical item קדמוני has a second more common meaning, "eastern." Occurrences with this meaning are not considered here.

[162] The same conclusions can be drawn for the temporal meaning of קדם, "former, ancient" (fem. sing. קדמה). With the exception of its use in Job 29.2, which refers explicitly

of the author of the Gog Oracles, this includes the time of "my servants the prophets of Israel."[163]

Much, then, hangs on the identification of "my servants the prophets of Israel," עבדי נביאי ישראל. Variations on the expression "my servants the prophets of Israel," עבדי נביאי ישראל, are unknown outside of exilic and postexilic sources and are most frequent in DtrH and Jeremiah. The exact locution "my servants the prophets," עבדי נביאים, occurs in 2 Kgs 9.7; 17.13; Jer 7.25; 26.5; 29.19; 35.15; 44.4; Zech 1.6. Variations appear in 2 Kgs 17.23; 21.10; 24.2; Jer 25.4; Amos 3.7; Dan 9.6, 10; Ezra 9.11. The phrase is also reminiscent of נביאים ראשנים, "former prophets," in Zech 1.4.[164] These expressions are used refer to genuine prophets whose pedigrees as true servants of Yhwh are accepted by the writer.

Based on these appearances of the phrase and on the content of GO (a divinely induced invasion of the mountains of Israel by foreigners from the north) the "prophets of Israel" alluded to in GO have typically been identified with Jeremiah (e.g., 1.14–15; 4.6, 13; 6.22; 7.30–34; 25.9), Joel (e.g., 1.6; 2.2, 20; 4.9–21), Isaiah (e.g., 5.26–30; 10.1–6; 14.24–25; 22.1–14; 28.1–6; 34.1–8), Zephaniah (e.g., 1.14–18; 3.8), and even Ezekiel himself (6.1–14; 36.1–15).[165] Ezekiel 38.17 is then judged to be evidence that GO, or portions of it, postdate the prophet Ezekiel and his contemporary, Jeremiah. As Cooke observed in 1936, "it is implied that a considerable time has passed meanwhile; Ez[ekiel] himself would not have alluded to the prophecies of Jeremiah in this way."[166] Accordingly, when the phrase "my servants the prophets" is combined with the phrase "in former days," the verse depicts even exilic prophets as a part of past history. If this is the case, the GO cannot be dated before the Persian period.[167] Further, it must

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to "past months," and a few indefinite references in the Psalter (77.6, 12; 78.2; 119.152; 143.5), the term is used to refer to things long past. See Deut 33.15, 27; 2 Kgs 19.25; Isa 19.11; 23.7; 37.26; 45.21; 46.1; 51.9; Jer 30.20; 46.26; Ezek 16.55; Mic 5.1; 7.20; Hab 1.12; Pss 44.2; 68.34; 74.2, 12; Prov 8.22–23; Lam 1.7; 2.17; 5.21; Neh 12.46; Sir 16.7 (E. Jenni, "קדם," in *TLOT* III: 1102–3).

[163] Smend (*Ezechiel*, 300) argues that 38.17 reflects an awareness of the demise of the prophetic spirit in Israel. Thus, for him, GO was penned significantly after the return from exile. See further, Frederick Greenspahn, "Why Prophecy Ceased," *JBL* 108 (1989): 37–49.

[164] Note the remarkable similarity between Ezek 38.17 and Luke 1.70 in the Prayer of Zechariah: καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, "as he spoke through the mouth of his holy prophets from of old."

[165] G. Hölscher, *Hesekiel,* 177–84; G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 407; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 525; G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme*, 135–40, 154–62; Ahroni, "Gog Prophecy," 11–12; Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 186.

[166] *Ezekiel*, 414.

[167] I will return to the subject of dating in the Conclusions.

stand at some temporal distance from the prophetic compositions cited above.[168]

It has often been suggested that 38.17 (along with vv. 18–23) is a redactional insertion into GO, obviating this entire discussion.[169] But this does not resolve the issue. There is a second reference to preexisting prophecies on the subject of Gog's invasion in 39.8, "Behold, it is coming, and will be done – an utterance of the Lord Yhwh – This is the day of which I have spoken."[170] The exact clause in 39.8, "Behold, it is coming, and will be done," הנה באה ונהיתה, originally occurs in Ezek 21.12. Further, the keyword יום signals an allusion to oracles about the "day of Yhwh," יום יהוה.[171] Announcements (הנה) of the coming (בוא) of the day (יום) are common in the prophets (Isa 13.9; 39.6; Jer 7.32; 9.24; 16.14; 19.6; 23.5, 7; 30.3; 31.27, 31, 38; 33.14; 48.12; 49.2; 51.47, 52; Ezek 7.10; Amos 4.2; 8.11; 9.13; Zech 14.1; Mal 3.19). The author of GO combined the common Ezekielian clause הנה באה ונהיתה with the more commonplace prophetic locution הנה + יום + בוא. This, in effect, paves the way for the author of GO to deputize any or all of these texts as antecedents and building blocks of GO. It would appear that Michael Fishbane's assessment of 38.17 still holds: "older prophetic promises are reappropriated in the proto-apocalyptic narratives of Ezek 38–9."[172]

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[168] This corresponds with Hindy Najman's thesis, "To take personal responsibility for a new interpretation would have been contrary to the Second Temple conception of authority, which always demanded roots in the pre-exilic past . . . even the most innovative material could not present itself as innovative" (*Seconding Sinai. The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* [JSJSup 77; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003], 14–15). This thesis is a bit of an overstatement, as Najman admits, but the point is well taken. See also, Martin Hengel, "Anonymität, Pseudepigraphie und 'literarische Fälschung' in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur," in *Pseudepigrapha I* (ed. K. von Fritz; Vandoeuvres-Geneve: Fondation Hardt, 1972), 231–308.

[169] See, e.g., the comments in J. Herrmann, *Ezechielstudien*, 249; G. Hölscher, *Hesekiel*, 178, 186–87; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 298–99.

[170] Ezek 39.6–8 is expunged by some critics as an interruption. If v. 6 is removed, no judgment touches Gog's homeland. If vv. 7–8 are removed, one of Yhwh's principal motives for inciting the event is omitted. Ezek 38.16, 23, and 39.21–24 reveal that the destruction of Gog will redeem God's reputation before the nations, which was damaged by the exile. Only Ezek 39.8 reveals that the episode also serves to repurify the divine name "in the midst of my people." In my judgment, GO is incomplete without 39.6–8. The charge that the pericope interrupts the chapter remains, however.

[171] See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 315; H.-W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 33.

[172] *Biblical Interpretation*, 510. Fishbane does not consider the oracles regarding Gog that are found in the versions to be the referent of these allusions. Rather, he believes that the author of GO has given new significance to prophecies about the foe from the north in Isaiah and Jeremiah: "the earlier vague predictions of an enemy from the north are reinterpreted by the author of Ezek. 38–39 into a vision of world significance" (ibid., 523).

Oracles throughout the book of Ezekiel allude to a wide variety of texts from the Torah, Deuteronomistic History, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Twelve. On a few occasions they do so explicitly, but even in these cases the human or literary sources of the allusions are never mentioned. For example, Ezek 20.11–12 refers explicitly to legal stipulations from the Torah:

> I gave them my statutes (חקותי) and showed them my ordinances (משפטי), by whose observance everyone shall live. Moreover I gave them my Sabbaths, as a sign between me and them, so that they might know that I, Yhwh, sanctify them.

The designation "statues and . . . ordinances" appears routinely in Ezekiel (5.6; 11.12, 20; 18.9, 17; 20.11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25; 36.27; 37.24). As Alt pointed out many decades ago, its redundancy and nearly invariable formulation suggests a collection of laws.[173] The appeal to these laws with no reference to or intimation of their textualization contrasts with Ezek 38.17 and 39.8 in that it is the divine origin of the laws that is the source of their authority.[174]

In Ezek 38.17 and 39.8, we see something different. GO appeals to a recognized deposit of prophecies accessible to both author and reader. It ties GO to this longstanding oracular tradition, making a *de facto* claim of continuity with those prophets and their authority.[175] The essential point is that GO is crafted as a supplement not only to the book of Ezekiel but also, it appears, as a supplement to a wider body of time-honored literature. GO is, then, by its own admission, a *relecture* of received prophecies from Israel's past. The author of GO is not just privately conscious of this derivative status but openly acknowledges it in an effort to append GO to this body of received and accepted authoritative literature. It should come as no surprise, then, that GO mines many sources for its language, imagery, themes, and arguments. This observation points us in the direction of the author's principle motives.

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[173] See Albrecht Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law," in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (trans. R. A. Wilson; Garden City: Doubleday, 1967), 101–71; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 175, 410.

[174] This is true of Ezekiel's oracles as well. They are authoritative because the prophet spoke on God's behalf with his signature. This is reinforced by the eighty-three occurrences of the signatory formula in Ezekiel, notarizing the authenticity and authority of its oracles.

[175] As Blenkinsopp has observed, the phrase "my/his servants the prophets" suggests that "the prophets were being understood as a well-defined collectivity" (*Prophecy and Canon*, 101). The prophets were already being viewed as having complementary expressions of the one divine will. See also R. Clements, "Prophecy as Literature. A Reappraisal," in *The Hermeneutical Quest. Essays in Honor of J. L. Mayes for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. D. G. Miller; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1986), 56–76.

II. The Author's Motives

1. Securing the Gog Oracles' Authority

The author's unrelenting allusive habits served his goals well. In order to assure that GO would be included within the book of Ezekiel, it was essential that the new chapters conform to Ezekiel's style and ideology. Pastiche was ideally suited to this goal. By impersonating Ezekiel, mimicking its language and style, the author made its acceptance as sure as was possible. This, technique sometimes called "imitative allusion" or "reminiscence," is a widely acknowledged phenomenon Second Temple literature.[176]

These imitative efforts betray the author's attitude toward Ezekiel. First, if the author, and immediate readers, had not shared the supposition that the book of Ezekiel was, in some sense, authoritative, this imitation would have been unnecessary. The author's painstaking efforts to mimic Ezekiel reflect the author's acceptance of Ezekiel's status as authentic prophetic literature and a respect for the Ezekielian tradition. Ezekiel's words were not to be added to, subtracted from, or otherwise tampered with without great care.

2. Harmonizing Ezekiel with Antecedent Texts and Harmonizing Antecedent Texts

The author of GO, though, did not restrict his borrowing to Ezekiel. He borrowed extensively from texts across the Torah and Prophets. In particular, the author combined elements from numerous eschatological texts to create a coherent picture of the time of transition between the current age and the eschaton. The notion that the eschaton will be immediately preceded by a massive war between God and the nations, one which God demands and forces, appears in texts like Isa 17.12–14; 29.1–8; Joel 2.1–11; 4.1–21; and Zeph 3.8–13. The notions that the eschaton will be characterized by a universal restoration, outpouring of prophetic inspiration, permanent peace, vindication of God's reputation, and return of the divine presence in Jerusalem appears in eschatological texts like Isa 9.1–7; Jer 30.10, 18; 31.20; 33.16; Hos 2.18–23; Joel 3.1–4; Zech 8.1–8, 20–22 and 9.9–10. The author does not seek to interpret these texts in new ways or to supplant them. He seeks only to amalgamate a variety of their topics into a harmonistic whole.

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[176] See, e.g., George Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and in the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 67–68; Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995); Stephen Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 29–43.

This tells us two interesting things about the author of GO. First, his essential intellectual predecessors are not just the writers of Ezekiel, but the authors of other eschatological prophetic texts as well. Though he works in and with the textual materials of Ezekiel, he strives to bring Ezekiel into alignment with other prophetic texts. Second, the author has a profound respect for his prophetic sources. He views them as authoritative prophecy. They are God's servants, speaking on behalf of the deity (38.17). As a result, the author assumes that they are compatible, that their prophecies can be harmonized without tension.

3. Filling Gaps in Ezekiel

Still, the author of GO did not choose to write his own book or to supplement some other prophetic book. He chose to supplement Ezekiel. This, I imagine, was motivated, in part, by the desire to harmonize Ezekiel with other prophetic literature, and, in part, by a desire to fill certain gaps in the book. Most notable, among those gaps, were the vindication of Israel and ultimate judgment of the nations. Related to that issue were the dangling questions of divine determinism and purity of the land. In keeping with the impulse to harmonize, the author of GO never filled gaps by creative composition; there are no original ideas here. The author of GO filled perceived gaps in Ezekiel by inserting ideas and elements from other biblical texts into his own composition, elements derived from texts like Joel and Isaiah. Likewise, the ability to apply legal material to new and unanticipated circumstances reveals the author's assumption that legal material is relevant to new generations and situations.

4. Supplementing Ezekiel

Finally, the author's methods and the content of GO indicate that Ezek 38–39 was not composed as a replacement for Ezekiel or any part of it. Many subjects in Ezekiel, subjects which are necessary to the argument of GO itself, are never addressed *within* GO. The author of GO never raises the subjects of messiah, Jerusalem, or cult restoration, for example.[177] The second and third of these, at least, are assumed in 39.23–29, but they are not explained. The author of GO takes for granted the fact that his new work will be read within the context of Ezekiel, and not apart from it. This, in turn, assumes that the book of Ezekiel has some abiding relevance for some community, that it will be read and reread in the future. As a supplement, GO both assumes that Ezekiel bears this quality of relevance and, at the same time, enhances this quality by aligning the book more closely with other traditions of received law and prophecy.

[177] See the similar argument regarding 11QT in Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 46–47.

These four motives point toward a particular conclusion: the author of GO recognized certain texts as having abiding authority, at least for himself and for his readers. Embodied in all the ways that the author of GO reuses antecedent literature, are the related assumptions that his source texts are *authoritative*, *cohesive* with one another, and (still) *relevant*. In short, they are Scripture.

In a summary statement on the reuse of Scripture in the Enochic corpus, Philip R. Alexander reached the following conclusion, a conclusion which could be applied, as Alexander formulated it, to GO:

> To my eye, the Enochic writers are offering a close reading of the biblical text more or less in the form in which we now have it. That reading is exactly of the kind with which I am familiar from my work on later rabbinic midrash. more precisely, this reading represents a type of biblical exegesis known as 'Rewritten bible', in which the narrative of Scripture is reworked with explanatory additions . . . This all might seem rather obvious were it not for the implications of this model, which may not be all that congenial to current thinking on the development of the canon of Scripture in the Second Temple period. The exegetical model presupposes that the text being exegeted is in some sense authoritative. Are we prepared to accept this, given how *early* some strata of the Enochic corpus are? Our analysis indicates that the explicit allusions to Scripture generally grow stronger the later we come in the Enochic writings, but exegesis seems to be implicit right from the start. Was there, then, some canon of authoritative Scripture for the author of the Book of the Heavenly luminaries, even in the fourth century BCE? This goes rather against the grain of current scholarship, but I can see no plausible alternative.[178]

[178] P. R. Alexander, "The Enochic Literature and the Bible," 64–65. My one quibble with Alexander's quote was his use of the term "canon" for Enoch's authoritative sources. If the term "canon" implies a complete list of scriptural texts, it is not applicable here. If Alexander merely means to say that some texts have already attained to a level of authority within the Enochic community such that they might appropriately be labeled "Scripture," then I am in full agreement with him.

Conclusions:
Social-Historical Context of the Gog Oracles

A. Summary of Findings

The argument presented in the preceding six chapters has been complex, with many turnings and points of qualification. To sum up, the main line of my argument is itemized here as a series of thesis statements:

1. Thanks to advances in the study of Second Temple literature, early Jewish interpretation, and inner-biblical exegesis, the time is ripe to rethink issues of composition and authorship in relation to the Gog Oracles.
2. There is consistency of style and expression between Ezekiel and GO.
3. Nonetheless, certain vocabulary choices and uses of language indicate that the author of GO should not be identified with the prophet Ezekiel or his "school," to whom the greater part of the book is attributed.
4. There is a great deal of supporting evidence that GO was composed as a discrete block of text, beginning in 38.1 and concluding in 39.29, and inserted into the book of Ezekiel.
5. The author of GO did not just borrow locutions from Ezekiel, but drew linguistic material from texts widely dispersed throughout the Torah and Prophets.
6. The construction of GO, assembled from many bits and pieces of antecedent texts, supports the conclusion that GO is a unified composition, the product of a single hand.
7. The volume of material in GO that is borrowed from across the Tanak and the recombination of that material identifies GO as pastiche, the only extended example of such a text within the Hebrew Bible.
8. A further examination of all species of textual reuse in GO shows that GO borrows not only locutions but themes, arguments, literary structures, topoi, plots, and images from other scriptural texts.
9. The full measure of GO's literary dependencies, when examined, reveals that GO is constructed as a sophisticated scaffolding of allusions. Certain texts, *Vorbilder*, shaped the whole of GO. Other texts dictated the themes and images of a pericope. Still others provided a single locution, image, idea, or trope.

10. The only other extended pastiche texts, having a complex hierarchy of allusions embedded within them, apart from GO, are Second Temple parabiblical texts (portions of 1 Enoch, 11QT, 1QH[a], and so forth).
11. Examination of the reuse of Scripture within GO demonstrated the author's coordination Ezekiel with other texts and arguments.
12. This coordination was motivated by a desire to fill certain gaps in Ezekiel (regarding the vindication of Israel and the ultimate fate of the nations) and to extend or adjust certain themes in the book (e.g., purity of the land, transformation of Israel).
13. In effect, the author of GO sought to supplement Ezekiel and the entire prophetic corpus, contributing to existing prophecy by delineating the time and circumstances of Israel's vindication.
14. The uses to which the author of GO put his sources betrays his attitudes toward those texts. The author considers them to be authoritative, cohesive, and relevant. In other words, the author considers them to be Scripture.

B. The Date of the Gog Oracles

Other than offering comparative evidence that GO is a Second Temple text, I have hesitated to ascribe a specific date to GO. The surest method of dating is from evidence of literary dependence. If the author's sources could be dated with some certainty, they would establish a *terminus ad quo* for GO. Likewise, if texts that use GO as a source could be dated, they, in turn, would establish a *terminus ad quem* for GO. But scholars can seldom agree on the date of any scriptural text, which renders any judgment in this regard indeterminate. That point being granted, it is the allusions we have noted between GO and Joel, Isa 40–66, and Daniel that are most helpful for establishing its date. GO's allusions to Joel and Third Isaiah point to a date after the 5th century B.C.E., the most commonly acknowledged date for the completion of those works. The reuse of GO in Dan 11.40–45, conversely, indicates that GO predates Daniel's 2d century provenance.[1] By this judgment, it would appear that GO was composed between the 4th and 2d centuries B.C.E., toward the latter part of the compositional history of the Hebrew Bible.

[1] See James Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927) 464–68; Adam S. van der Woude, "Prophetic Prediction, Political Prognostication, and Firm Belief," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Craig A. Evans, Shemaryahu Talmon, and James A. Sanders; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63–73.

Many features of GO, as we have seen, can assist us in locating it within the stream of postexilic literature. The author's use of Ezekielian language, suggests that GO is an addition to a *book* of Ezekiel, crafted to mirror its style. The literary form of GO, thematic-pastiche, points to the Second Temple period, which accords with the dates of comparable texts. Still, despite these diverse streams of evidence, it remains difficult to be precise about the date of GO. At this point it is instructive to return to David Carr's conclusions, cited at the beginning of this study. A text tends to be later than its "parallel" when it:

1. Verbally parallels that text and yet includes substantial pluses vis-à-vis that text.
2. Appears to enrich its parallel (fairly fully preserved) with fragments from various locations in the Bible (less completely preserved).
3. Includes a plus that fills what could have been perceived as an apparent gap in its parallel.
4. Included expansive material in character speeches, particularly theophanic speech.
5. Has an element which appears to be an adaptation of an element in the other text to shifting circumstances/ideas.
6. Combines linguistic phenomena from disparate strata . . .[2]

With the exception of the fourth tendency, which is not operative in GO, all of these criteria are descriptive of Ezek 38–39. GO contains many verbal parallels to antecedent texts, enriches its parallels, brings together elements from diverse antecedent sources, fills gaps in its sources (especially Ezekiel), and adapts its source materials through recombination and harmonization. Carr, of course, arrived at these criteria after examining late Second Temple texts like: 4QpaleoExod^{m}, the Samaritan Pentateuch, 4QReworked Pentateuch (4QRP), and the Temple Scroll (11QT). This all suggests a similar date for GO, within the Second Temple period.

This evidence accords with the attestation of GO itself. GO speaks to a circumstance in which the return and resettlement of Babylonian exiles has occurred (as argued on 73–75). This places the composition of GO in the Persian period at the earliest.

What then, can we conclude about the date of the text? GO is, at the earliest, from the late Persian period, though I think it more likely that it is Hellenistic. If it is Hellenistic, it most likely predates the composition of Dan 11–12. This places GO somewhere within a span from the 4th to the early decades of the 2d centuries B.C.E.

[2] Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence," 126. Compare Zahn "Reexamining Empirical Models," 36–55.

C. The Author of the Gog Oracles

The author's choice of compositional technique, pastiche, obscures our view of the author to a large degree. Virtually all the arguments, themes, and even language were derived from older texts. This means that the content of GO is not as helpful for deducing the author's era, circumstance, or social position as it would be in most texts. A parallel example from the religious history of Europe may help to clarify this point. John Eck was one of the Roman Church's most ardent and reliable opponents of Lutheranism. It was John Eck who, in 1519, debated Luther and Carlstadt at the University of Leipzig and who was largely responsible for securing the former's excommunication in 1520. Ten year later he published his *Enchiridion of Commonplaces against Luther and Other Enemies of the Church*, which was enormously witty, acerbic, and popular. It went through forty-five editions before 1580. In 1542, two decades after the emergence of Lutheranism, Eck offered his last public lectures at Ingolstadt. He lectured on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a mainstay of late medieval theology. The lectures were neither polemical nor apologetic. He made no reference to Luther, to Lutheranism, or to Protestant arguments against late medieval theology. In fact, one would guess from the content alone that these lectures predated the Lutheran revolution in the church.[3] In GO, we see something similar, a text that reflects ideas that predate the composition itself.

Still, there are things that we can deduce about the author of GO. The author's choice of sources, interpretation of those sources, recombination of borrowed source materials, and attitudes toward his source material all reveal certain things about GO's author. First, the consistent character of the composition in its techniques of reuse and its density of allusion suggests that GO is a unified composition, all of it composed by a single author in a single historical "moment." There are no fractures in the pastiche, points at which the allusions vanish and extended excerpts of original composition emerge. All parts of Ezek 38–39, without exception, are the product of a disciplined exercise of pastiche composition. Second, the most original part of GO is the interlude on the interring of Gog's dead and repurification of the land. This concern with purity legislation makes it tempting to conclude that the author of GO is priestly, especially when this is considered alongside Ezekiel's priestly office and the affinities of the whole book with priestly literature and priestly streams of thought. But we must be cautious at this point. Second Temple Judaism witnessed a remarkable escalation in lay piety. Central to Second Temple piety was an

[3] David Steinmetz, "Uncovering a Second Narrative: Detective Fiction and the Construction of Historical Method," in *The Art of Reading Scripture* (ed. Ellen Davis and Richard Hays; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 60.

unflagging concern for ritual and moral purity.[4] In a Second Temple context, purity alone is not a telling identifier of a particular social group or profession. What is certain is that the author was highly literate, had access to a whole variety of sacred texts, had the leisure to pursue a project of learning and scribal erudition, was learned enough to recognize the points of discontinuity between Ezekiel and the other writing prophets, and fancied himself up to the task of supplementing them. Clearly the author was a scribe. It seems likely that this scribe was priestly, but the point is not beyond doubt.

Thus, I conclude that the author of GO was a single individual, working in the Hellenistic period, who completed his new composition as a supplement to the extant book of Ezekiel. This author, who cannot be positively identified with a particular social or religious group, assumed that the Torah, Prophets, and Psalms were authoritative, coherent, relevant documents and strove, by means of supplementation, to integrate the book of Ezekiel with them.

[4] This was fueled, in part, by Hellenistic attempts to root out Temple Judaism and its practices. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 52–53, 292–303; Cohen, *Maccabees to Mishnah*, 124–26.

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